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Newman's apologetic

Infallibility of The Pope. p 218

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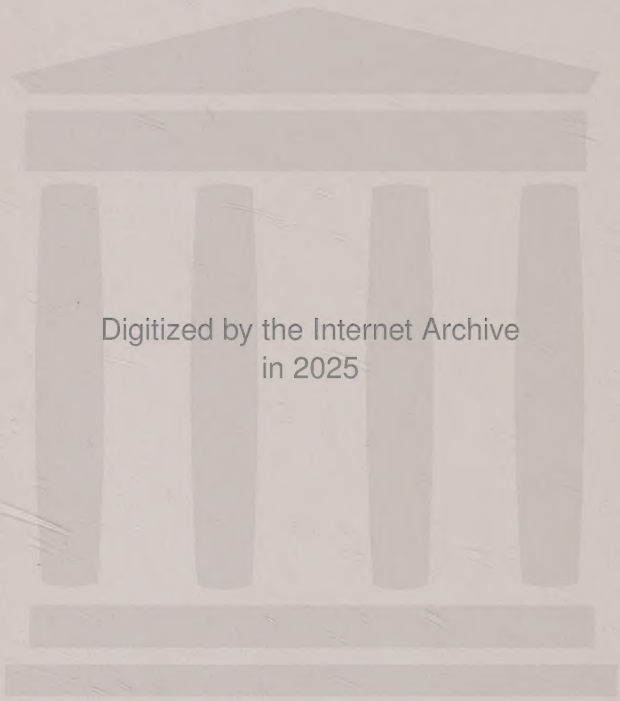
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NEWMAN'S APOLOGETIC

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Cardinal, John Henry

NEWMAN'S APOLOGETIC

1801 - 1890

BY

J. D. FOLGHERA, O.P.

ENGLISH VERSION BY PHILIP HEREFORD

With an Introduction by

BEDE JARRETT, O.P., S.T.L.

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INTRODUCTION

NOT many words are needed to introduce this book to an English public ; its title shows where its attraction and its value lie. It comes from France, not strangely, for who could deny to France its right as much to the universal genius of John Henry Newman as to that of S. Thomas Aquinas or S. Jerome or any other Father of the Church ? for Newman now indeed seems to be of that band and of that stature. The Fathers of the Church were the companions of his musings until he became one with them in fellowship.

Each Father of the Church was sent by God to guide the Church through a particular difficulty : Newman was given, before ' the age of psychology ' had properly begun, to be a master of that science in his exquisite analysis of the act of faith. His work completes the theology of the scholastics, by adding to their architectural greatness his ' cloistral, silver-veined ' touches of truth. He drew his arguments as with silverpoint, his controversies he etched finely as with acid. Here one will find his words sometimes dainty, sometimes piercingly deep : but because his apologetic was true and the work of

genius, it will always live. The beauty of his style matched the beauty of the ideas it held.

In this book of his, we welcome Père Folghera back to England. To many of us he had been an interpreter of the master-mind of Aquinas, here he is found again as the interpreter of another master-mind.

Of the translation, let the reader judge! I know that my friend, Philip Hereford, will be most happy if in these days of religious uncertainties, others will be led, as he was led, back through Newman to the faith.

BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS is not the whole apologetic of Newman. Neither the *Grammar of Assent* nor the *Essay on Development* will be touched on here. These two works are sufficiently well known and do not need any further introduction. They constitute, if you will, Newman's *general* Apologetic, the one being a study of Christian belief, the other of Christian doctrine. The present volume contains what may be called his *special* Apologetic, yet it, too, does not reflect Newman the Apologist as a whole. In him the thinker goes side by side with the psychologist, the historian, the scholar. I hope that I have succeeded in faithfully presenting his thought; but here too we must, to avoid misconceptions, bear well in mind that Newman wrote 'as the advocate of the Catholic cause against its critics, rather than of theological accuracy,'* that he had his own personal opinions, broader than those of certain other Catholic writers; and that the context is often necessary to a proper understanding of the text. I hope, too, that this swift analysis, this cinematograph view, with its procession of profound and original ideas, will interest,

* Wilfrid Ward. *Life of Newman*, II, p. 421.

will be instructive, and will inspire in more than one soul the desire to make a wider and more intimate acquaintance—through the actual works themselves—of the great Catholic, the great thinker, the great writer, who was and is John Henry Newman.*

* Works, with an Index, by J. Rickaby, S.J. 40 Vols. (Longmans, 1874-1921).

NEWMAN'S APOLOGETIC

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN*

WHEN Newman, in 1864, determined to meet the violent attack made on him by Kingsley, a half-hour's thought convinced him that his best reply would lie not in a skirmish of details but in a combined movement over the whole front which should take the form of *A History of his Religious Opinions*. 'I will draw out, as far as may be, the history of my mind; I will state the point at which I began, in what external suggestion or accident each opinion had its rise, how far and how they developed from within, how they grew, were modified, were combined, were in collision with each other, and were changed; again how I conducted myself towards them. . . . I shall account for that phenomenon which to so many seems so wonderful, that I should have left "my kindred and my father's house" for a Church from which

* *Apologia pro vita sua*, first published 1864; many subsequent editions.

once I turned away with dread ;—so wonderful to them ! as if forsooth a Religion which has flourished through so many ages, among so many nations, amid such varieties of social life, in such contrary classes and conditions of men, and after so many revolutions, political and civil, could not subdue the reason and overcome the heart, without the aid of fraud in the process and the sophistries of the schools.'

A great delight in reading the Bible and a perfect knowledge of the Catechism were two characteristics of Newman as a child ; but it was not until he was fifteen that his religious convictions began to take on a definite form. ' In the autumn of 1816 a great change of thought took place in me. I fell under the influences of a definite creed, and received into my intellect impressions of dogma ; ' the effect of the conversations and sermons of the Rev. Walter Mayers, of Pembroke College, Oxford, and above and beyond these, of the books which he put into Newman's hands, all of the school of Calvin. He was specially struck by the doctrine of final perseverance, and was convinced that the inward conversion of which he was conscious, would last into the next life, and that he was elected to eternal glory. Another contemporary writer who made a strong impression on him was the Rev. Thomas Scott (†1821), who from Unitarianism passed to a zealous faith in the Holy Trinity. ' It was he who first planted deep in my mind that fundamental truth of religion.' Newman also felt deeply the moral influences of his writings,

which he summed up in two sentences : ' Holiness rather than peace ' and ' Growth the only evidence of life.' It should be noted, too that from this time he held with a full inward assent and belief the doctrine of eternal punishment.

In the same autumn of 1816 he read two other works which planted in his mind ' the seeds of an intellectual inconstancy.' Joseph Miller's *Church History* made him nothing short of enamoured of the long extracts from S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and the other Fathers, which he found there, representatives, as they seemed to him, of primitive Christianity. On the other hand Newton's *On the Prophecies* made him ' most firmly convinced that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, S. Paul, and S. John,' a thought which remained upon him ' as a sort of false conscience,' and took many years to die. Again at the same date what he calls ' a deep imagination ' took possession of him, that it was the will of God that he should live in celibacy.

In 1822 to the influence of books there succeeded the influence of men. And it was first Dr. Hawkins then vicar of S. Mary's, later Provost of Oriel, who helped in the shaping of his intellect and of his logical sense, who ' taught him to weigh his words and to be cautious in his statements ; ' who gave him the *Treatise on Apostolic Teaching*, by Sumner, from which he was led to give up his remaining Calvinism, and to receive the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration ; who taught him to anticipate the attack which would be made upon the books

and the canon of Scripture ; who finally initiated him into that doctrine of Tradition which is so intimately bound up with Catholicism. 'The sacred text was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and if we would learn doctrine, we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church ; for instance to the Catechism, and to the creeds. . . . This view, most true in its outline, most fruitful in its consequences, opened upon me a large field of thought.'

It was about the year 1823 that, in the course of a walk, the Rev. William James taught him the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. At about the same date he read Butler's *Analogy*, 'the study of which has been to so many, as it was to me, an era in their religious opinions.' Two points in particular struck him. 'First, the very idea of an analogy between the separate works of God leads to the conclusion that the system which is of less importance is economically or sacramentally connected with the more momentous system. . . . Secondly, Butler's doctrine that Probability is the guide of life, led me, at least under the teaching to which a few years later I was introduced, to the question of the logical cogency of Faith, on which I have written so much.' As to Dr. Whately who, from 1822 on, had proved himself 'a gentle and encouraging instructor,' who 'opened his mind, and taught him to think and to use his reason. . . to see with his own eyes and to walk with his own feet,' Newman learned from him the idea of the Church as a substantive body or corporation

as well as those anti-Erastian views of Church policy, which were to be one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement.

Meanwhile Newman had come out of his shell, not to return to it till 1841. He had in 1826 become one of the tutors of his college ; he had written one or two essays which had been well received, had preached his first University Sermon ; finally in 1828 he had become Vicar of Saint Mary's. His influence was growing, and so it was that he became the centre of an incipient party in which can be discerned the first elements of that movement afterwards called Tractarian. 'The true and primary author of it, however, as is usual with great motive-powers, was out of sight.' This was John Keble whose *Christian Year*, which appeared in 1827, 'struck an original note and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England.' To him Newman owed what may be called a recasting of the two principles which he held from Butler : the first, what may be called, in a broad sense of the word, the Sacramental system ; that is, the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen, a doctrine which embraces not only Sacraments properly so called, but also the article of the Communion of Saints and likewise the Mysteries of the Faith. The second, that probability is the guide of life, may, in the case of many minds, end by destroying in them all fulfilment of certainty and lead them to regard everything as a matter of

opinion which they are free to accept or not as they will. Keble met this danger by ascribing firmness of assent not to the probabilities which introduced it, but to the living power of faith and love which accepts it. 'Thus the argument from Probability, in the matter of religion, became an argument from Authority.' Newman remarks that the argument, even thus modified, seemed to him to be limited, and that he tried to complete it in his University Sermons, *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles*, and *Essay on Development of Doctrine*.*

Another dear friend, who died all too soon, was Hurrell Frunde († 1836). 'It is difficult to enumerate the precise additions to my theological creed which I derived from a friend to whom I owe so much. He taught me to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence.'

In 1828 Newman returned to the study of the Fathers, and during the long vacation of that year, began to read them in chronological order, beginning with S. Ignatius and S. Justin. His acceptance of a proposal to collaborate in a Theological Library and to write a History of the Principal Councils resulted in the volume *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (published at the end of

* Newman wrote this passage in 1864; his *Grammar of Assent* did not appear till 1870.

1833), in which the Council of Nicea, which was to have been its main theme, occupied at most twenty pages. These studies fixed in his mind the idea, to which the writings of Bishop Bull had introduced him, that 'Antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England.'

Meanwhile 'great events were happening at home and abroad, which brought out into form and passionate expression the various beliefs which had so gradually been winning their way into my mind. Shortly before there had been a revolution in France. . . . [In England] the Whigs had come into power. . . the vital question was, how were we to keep the Church from being liberalized?'

By liberalism Newman meant 'false liberty of thought, or the exercise of thought upon matters, in which, from the constitution of the human mind, thought cannot be brought to any successful issue, and therefore is out of place. Among such matters are first principles of whatever kind; and of these the most sacred and momentous are especially to be reckoned the truths of Revelation. Liberalism then is the mistake of subjecting to human judgment those revealed doctrines which are in their nature beyond and independent of it, and claiming to determine on intrinsic grounds the truth and value of propositions which rest for their reception simply on the external authority of the Divine Word.'

Two figures shaped themselves before his mind: the Church of England as she was, and the Church

of the Primitive Christians ; and what a contrast ! ' I said to myself, " Look on this picture and on that ;" I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness ; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of the victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination ; still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and the organ. She was nothing, unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. There was need of a second reformation.'

The winter of 1832-3 he spent with Hurrell Froude in Italy, writing a good deal of verse later collected in the *Lyra Apostolica* ; paying little heed to Catholicism of which he saw nothing but what was external ; preoccupied to the extent of obsession with the thought of England and her Church, ' nursing fierce thoughts against the Liberals ' who were making headway. Taken ill in Sicily, and nearly dying, he kept saying : ' I shall not die, for I have not sinned against light.' What these words meant, he says, he was never able quite to make out. He repeats what he had already said to Mgr. Wiseman when he called on him in Rome : ' I have work to do in England.' He gets better, he leaves for London, he arrives

at his mother's house ; this was on the Tuesday ; the following Sunday, July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University Pulpit, later published under the title of *National Apostasy*. 'I have ever considered and kept the day, as the start of the religious movement of 1833.'

The movement had already started in this sense at any rate, that 'several zealous and able men had united their councils, and were in correspondence with each other.' Mr. Hugh Rose had already, in 1832, founded the *British Magazine* as a rallying point for Churchmen. But what unity of effort could be expected of men severed by distance and not agreed on the nature of the means to be employed? Newman and Froude were under no illusions. 'Living movements do not come of committees, nor are great ideas worked out through the post, even though it had been the penny post.' So Newman launched now the Tracts of which he was the editor and mainly the author. Their appearance provoked a storm of controversy. At the same time, he multiplied visits, letters to clergymen of every shade of thought, wishing 'to make a strong pull in union with all who were opposed to the principals of Liberalism, whoever they might be.' He also commenced a series of articles in the *Record* newspaper on Church reform. He was brimful of enthusiasm, supremely confident in the cause which he was serving. 'We were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was

registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican Divines.'

What then exactly was this position of his which inspired him with such confidence? He sums it up in three propositions: 'First was the principal of dogma: my battle was with liberalism; by liberalism I mean the anti-dogmatic principal and its developments. . . . From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principal of my religion: I know no other religion; I cannot enter into the idea of any other sort of religion; religion, as a mere sentiment, is to me a dream and a mockery. As well can there be filial love without the fact of a father, as devotion without the fact of a Supreme Being. . . . Secondly, I was confident in the truth of a certain definite religious teaching, based upon this foundation of dogma; viz—that there was a visible Church with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace. . . . And further, as to the Episcopal system . . . my own Bishop was my Pope; I knew no other; the successor of the Apostles, the Vicar of Christ.'

As for the Church of Rome there was going on in Newman a conflict between his reason, stubborn in its prejudices, and his sentiments towards her, which were gradually softening. During the Tractarian movement it was the honours paid by Rome to the Blessed Virgin and to the saints which especially offended him, although his personal devotion to them was increasing. Hurrell Froude tried to calm his friend on this point, just as he taught him to admire the great Popes of the middle

ages, which was not so difficult to do since to Newman the Council of Trent seemed to mark a fatal date in the history of Rome. The memories of his journey in 1832 also contributed. 'Thus I learned to have tender feelings towards her; but still my reason was not affected at all. My judgment was against her, when viewed as an institution, as truly as it ever had been.' This judgment seemed to him so solidly grounded as to justify him in undertaking the freest exposition of what he used to call Anglican principles. 'All the world was astounded . . . men said that it was sheer Popery.' Newman answered: 'True, we seem to be making straight for it; but go on awhile, and you will come to a deep chasm across the path, which makes real approximation impossible.' This absolute persuasion inspired, too, the attitude of his mind vis-à-vis the Fathers of the Church. Their teaching, however foreign it might at first appear on certain points, 'would admit of explanation, or it might suggest something profitable to Anglicans; it could not lead to Rome.' He expressed this view in the preface to the first volume, edited by him, of the *Library of the Fathers* which Pusey had started. For by this time Pusey, ὁ μέγας, as Newman used to call him, Pusey, 'a host in himself,' had joined the Movement, and his influence and example made themselves powerfully felt; they 'set me, and made me set others, on the larger and more careful works in defence of the movement which followed in a course of years . . . I set about a work at once; one in which was

brought out with precision the relation in which we stood to the Church of Rome.' It was necessary at once to reassure friends and to repel the attacks of opponents. The work appeared in 1837 under the title, *The Prophetical Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*. The author pursued a double end: first to trace out the rudimental lines on which Christian faith and teaching proceed, and to use them as a means of determining the relation of the Roman and Anglican systems to each other, and thus to show that to confuse the two together is impossible, and that the Anglican can be as little said to tend to the Roman, as the Roman to the Anglican; further, to make an attempt at commencing a system of theology on the Anglican idea, and based upon Anglican authorities. There was another motive for his publishing of a personal nature which Newman underlines: 'I felt then, and all along felt, that there was an intellectual cowardice in not finding a basis in reason for my belief, and a moral cowardice in not avowing that basis . . . This again was a main reason for the publication of Tract 90. Alas! it was my portion for whole years to remain without any satisfactory basis for my religious profession, in a state of moral sickness, neither able to acquiesce in Anglicanism, nor able to go to Rome.'

Taken as a whole the subject of the volume was, as Newman remarks, the doctrine of the *Via Media*. This name, which had already been applied by some writers to the Anglican system, did not

seem to him altogether satisfactory, as being too negative, implying merely a mean between two extremes, without defining in what it consists. And he had to show it to be one, intelligible, and consistent. And this was not all. It was at present but a 'paper religion.' Again, was it a system having life and likely to endure, or was it 'a mere modification or transition-state of either Romanism or popular Protestantism?' In Newman's eyes the *via media* was based on the three doctrinal points already mentioned: dogma, the sacraments episcopacy or anti-Romanism. 'But not only had the house itself to be built upon them, but it had also to be furnished.' He believed that he had brought out in what the two systems differed from each other, but in what they agreed he thought that he had not gone far enough. He had indeed said: 'In both systems the same creeds are acknowledged. . . . We both hold, that certain doctrines are necessary to be believed for salvation; we both believe in the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement; in original sin; in the need of regeneration, and the supernatural grace of the Sacraments; in the Apostolic Succession; in the obligation of faith and obedience, and in the eternity of future punishment.'* But it seemed to him that the two systems must therefore be 'one and the same in such plain consequences as were contained in those fundamentals and in such natural observances as outwardly represented them.' To sum up he arrived at the conclusion, that 'the

* *Prophetical Office*, pp. 55, 56.

Catholic Church in all lands had been one from the first for many centuries ; then, various portions had followed their own way, to the injury, but not to the destruction, whether of truth or of charity. These portions or branches were mainly three :—the Greek, Latin, and Anglican. Each of these inherited the early undivided Church *in solido* as its own possession. Each branch was identical with that early undivided Church, and in the unity of that Church it had unity with the other branches. The three branches agreed in *all but* their later accidental errors.'

And Newman was carried away with the thought of the Anglican Church as he viewed it—in his imagination—again becoming rich in all that it had thrown overboard. ' It must have a ceremonial, a ritual, and a fulness of doctrine and devotion, which it had not at present, if it were to compete with the Roman Church with any prospect of success. Such additions would not remove it from its proper basis but would merely strengthen and beautify it : such, for instance, would be confraternities, particular devotions, reverence for the Blessed Virgin, prayers for the dead, beautiful churches, munificent offerings to them and in them, monastic houses, and many other observations and institutions, which I used to say belonged to us as much as to Rome, though Rome had appropriated them and boasted of them, by reason of our having let them slip from us.' This aim, ' to bring out in a substantive form a living Church of England, in a position proper to herself, and founded on distinct

principles,' was the object which Newman had in view in the various works which he wrote, edited, or prompted in the years 1833 to 1839 : The *Essay on Justification* ; several University Sermons upon the subject of Faith and Reason ; a pamphlet on the Real Presence ; the *Church of the Fathers*, which appeared in the *British Magazine* ; the translation of Fleury's *Church History* ; the *Life of Pope Gregory VII* by Mr. Bowden ; the *Lives of the English Saints* ; the tract, *On the Roman Breviary* ; the translation of the *Treatises of Saint Athanasius*. Finally, Newman was editor of the *British Critic* from July 1838 to July 1841.

There was therefore now an Anglo-Catholic party, which was become a power, ' getting stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the nation, and that Church of the nation, which it began by professing especially to serve.' The occasion of this was Tract 90, of which the subject was the Thirty-nine Articles, the doctrinal formularies of the Anglican Church. And Newman had been able to say :—' Saving our engagements to Prayer Book and Articles, we might breathe and live and act and speak, as in the atmosphere and climate of Henry III's day, or the Confessor's, or Alfred's.' But there were the Articles. He had long meditated and commented upon them. When the movement was in its swing, friends had put him the question : ' What will you make of the Articles ? ' And since the *via media* had drawn him towards Rome in proportion as it drove him away from Protestantism, the question

became a burning one: 'How can you manage to sign the Articles? They are directly against Rome.' 'Against Rome?' he made answer, 'What do you mean by *Rome*?' And then he proceeded to draw the necessary distinctions. By 'Roman Doctrine,' might be meant one of three things corresponding to the three elements of which it is composed. (1) the Catholic teaching of the early centuries; (2) the formal dogmas of Rome as contained in the later Councils, especially the Council of Trent, and as condensed in the Creed of Pope Pius IV; (3) the actual popular beliefs and usages sanctioned by Rome, and which he called her 'dominant errors.' These distinctions drawn, Newman believed that he could make, and did make, the following reply: 'the Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching; they but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome.' Without going into the arguments which supported this thesis, the latter was an application to the Articles of the *via media*, and 'a necessary work.' It raised a sudden storm of indignation, for which Newman declares he was quite unprepared, and its violence startled him. Not that he had any fear; but he saw clearly that his place in the movement was lost, and as he said later: 'I felt that by this event a kind Providence had saved me from an impossible position in the future.'

But Tract 90 reacted on Newman in a very different and important direction, no longer in his relations with the Movement, but with Anglic-

anism itself; and it is this which especially concerns us here. The tract appeared early in 1841, but Newman's thought had already proceeded some stages which we must now describe. In 1839 in the April number of the *British Critic* he had published an article on *The State of Religious Parties*, in which he reviewed the actual state of things, and ended by looking towards the future of the Movement, 'little dreaming that it was so to be, I was in truth winding up my accounts with it;—while I was still, in some way or other, feeling about for an available *via media*, I was soon to receive a shock which was to cast out of my imagination all middle courses and compromises for ever.' In order to understand what happened, it must be remembered that Newman, in attempting to establish the *via media* on the teaching of the great Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century, had found it impossible to form any such theory, without cutting across the teaching of the Church of Rome; and the two Churches, Roman and Anglican, as he then understood them, took shape before him: the Church of Rome complete with its dogmas and its so-called popular errors; the Anglican Church of the *via media* with its roots in the primitive Church. 'The Anglican disputant took his stand upon antiquity or Apostolicity, the Roman upon Catholicity. The Anglican said: "There is but one faith, the ancient, and you have not kept to it." The Roman retorted: "There is but one Church, the Catholic, and you are out of it". . . The true Church, as defined

in the Creeds, was both Catholic and Apostolic; now, as I viewed this controversy in which I was engaged, England and Rome had divided these notes and prerogatives between them; the cause lay thus: Apostolicity *versus* Catholicity.'

Not that Newman allowed the note of Catholicity really to belong to Rome to the disparagement of the Anglican Church; on the contrary he contended that the Roman idea of Catholicity was not ancient and Apostolic; at the same time he regarded as completely grounded the reproach he made against Rome of having added to, and, by just so much, altered the deposit of the Faith, and of having thus lost her title to Apostolicity.

As early as 1836 the vital point in the controversy had taken clear shape in his mind, as is very evident from an article entitled *Home Thoughts Abroad*, which appeared in the March and April numbers of the *British Magazine* of that year. It takes the form of a dialogue between two disputants, of whom one defends Anglicanism, the other Romanism. It is curious to note that the latter quotes a passage from S. Augustine against the Donatists and adds: 'Now I am only contending for the fact that the communion of Rome constitutes the main body of the Church Catholic, and that we [Anglicans] are split off from it, and in the condition of the Donatists.' But this historical fact does not strike Newman then, as it will do later on. The objection suggested by the additions made by Rome to the deposit of the Faith is answered by a reference to the doctrine

of 'development of gospel truth,' with this remark that 'the Anglican system itself is not found complete in those early centuries; so that the Anglican principle of Antiquity is self-destructive.' But this theory is here only in the seed, and it is only later that it will grow and put forth fruit. Lastly it is to be noted that the question of the position of the Pope, whether as the centre of unity, or as the source of jurisdiction, does not at this time come into Newman's thoughts at all; in his view the controversy did not turn on it; it turned upon the Faith and the Church. 'There was a contrariety of claims between the Roman and Anglican religions, and the history of my conversion is simply the process of working it out to a solution.'

The long vacation of 1839 began early. Newman took up his reading again and began to study the history of the Monophysites. 'It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism. My stronghold was Antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteeenth and nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. . . . It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also; difficult to find arguments against the Tridentine Fathers, which did not tell against the Fathers of Chalcedom; difficult to condemn the Popes of the sixteenth

century, without condemning the Popes of the fifth. The drama of religion and the combat of truth and error, were ever one and the same. . . . The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth.' Newman had scarcely brought this disturbing course of reading to a close when some friends put in his hands the current number of the *Dublin Review*, in which there was an article by Dr. Wiseman on the 'Anglican Claims.' It was on the Donatists with an application to Anglicanism. Newman, as we have seen, knew of the controversy, considered it however, as purely an African question. But the words of S. Augustine, which had escaped his attention, and which a friend insistently called to his notice, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*, became an obsession. 'They were words which went beyond the occasion of the Donatists; they applied to that of the Monophysites . . . they decided ecclesiastical questions on a simpler rule than that of Antiquity. . . . Who can account for the impressions which are made on him? . . . By those great words of the ancient Father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *via media* was absolutely pulverized.'

Newman always had something like a presentiment that his mind 'had not found its ultimate rest,' but this was nothing beside 'the dismay and disgust' which he now felt. What was he to do? He determined to be guided, not by his imagination, but by his reason; to leave it to time to solve the question; if the voice which

had spoken came from above, it would come again. Meanwhile his doctrinal system had been brought to the ground ; there were left standing only the three fundamental points : The principal of dogma, the sacramental system, and anti-Romanism, and of these three the first two were better secured in the Roman than in the Anglican Church. ' In consequence, my main argument for the Anglican claims lay in the positive and special charges, which I could bring against Rome. I had no positive Anglican theory. I was very nearly a pure Protestant.'

When Newman got back to Oxford, he found everyone talking of the article in the *Dublin Review*. But he had already regained control of himself. He felt no kind of certainty that the argument in it was conclusive. And after all, if this note of Catholicity was wanting, yet there were others; and even this particular note ought not to be abandoned without careful examination. And so he published a paper on the Catholicity of the English Church—which appeared in the *British Critic* of January 1840. But the stumbling block, the terrible stumbling-block, lay, in the 39 Articles. ' It was urged that here was a positive note *against* Anglicanism :—Anglicanism claimed to hold that the Church of England was nothing else than a continuation in this country, (as the Church of Rome might be in France or Spain) of that one Church of which in old times Athanasius and Augustine were members. But, if so, the doctrine must be the same ; the doctrine of the old Church must live and speak

in Anglican formularies, in the 39 Articles. Did it?' Newman, in all sincerity, thought that this could be answered in the affirmative. And it had to be. 'It was a matter of life and death with us. . . . I recognized that I was engaged in an *experimentum crucis*. I have no doubt that then I acknowledged to myself that it would be a trial of the Anglican Church, which it had never undergone before. . . . Though my tract was an experiment, it was, as I said at the time, "no feeler;" the event showed this; for, when my principle was not granted, I did not draw back, but gave up. I would not hold office in a Church which would not allow my sense of the Articles.'

However, just at first nothing happened to force things. If Newman was not confident about his permanent adhesion to the Anglican creed, he was in no actual perplexity or trouble of mind. Tract 90, in spite of the immense commotion it had caused, had neither been withdrawn by him, nor condemned by the Bishops. The summer of 1841 finds him at Littlemore; he is collected; he has determined to put aside all controversy, and sets himself down to his translation of S. Athanasius. But, between July and November he receives three blows which break him. He had got but a little way in his work when 'the ghost came a second time.' The history of the Arians, like that of the Monophysites, took on modern shape, became actual. 'The pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were Anglicans; Rome now was what it was then. The truth lay, not with the

via media, but with what was called "the extreme party".' Next the Bishops spoke, but it was to charge against Tract 90. Lastly there was the question of erecting an Anglican bishopric at Jerusalem, by an agreement with the Prussian Government. 'This was the third blow, which finally shattered my faith in the Anglican Church. That Church was not only forbidding any sympathy or concurrence with the Church in Rome, but it actually was courting an inter-communion with protestant Prussia and the heresy of the Orientals. . . . Such acts as were in progress led me to the gravest suspicion, not that it would soon cease to be a Church, but that, since the sixteenth century, it had never been a Church all along.' To clear his conscience Newman drew up a solemn protest and sent it to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to his own Bishop. He adds: 'As to the project of a Jerusalem bishopric, I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me; which many think a great misfortune, and I one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end.'

The end of the end was, however, to drag out for another four years (1841-1845), during which Newman was, as he puts it, 'on his death bed, as regards his membership with the Anglican Church.' The beginning of this period found him again under the two commanders, duty and controversy. What should he do? He has given up his place in the Movement, but he cannot

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abandon the many recruits whom he has brought into it; he does not for a moment contemplate leaving the Church of England, but he expects to fall back into lay communion, for he could not hold office in its service, if he were not allowed to hold the Catholic sense of the Articles; he could not go to Rome for she was idolatrous, as he thought, in the honours she paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. Where did she get these ideas? The history of the ancient heresies threw an unexpected light on the notes of Catholicity and Apostolicity. It was against these heresies that the capital doctrines as concerning Jesus Christ were defined, and thus recognized as a part of the deposit of the Faith, several centuries after Apostolic times. The alternative with which he was faced, of furnishing Rome with weapons by explaining her supposed innovations in the principle of development, or of rehabilitating the ancient heretics in the attempt to justify England's separation from Rome, made him abandon these two notes, and pronounce the *via media* impossible as a theory. He turned for protection to the note of Sanctity, or, as he calls it, the note of Life, 'a supernatural Christian life, which could only come directly from above.' He developed this idea in four sermons preached at Saint Mary's in the December of 1841. He compares England to the ten tribes, in schism, yet, nevertheless, visited by the Divine Mercy. In truth the comparison would hardly hold, and it was open to suspicion; Newman, however, was satisfied; there was enough to justify

his position and to dictate to him the duty of remaining where he was.

His friends were in trouble about him, and their anxious letters received replies which were on the whole reassuring. The public journals meddled in the affair and circulated the most fantastic rumours : Newman, it was said, was already a Catholic, but had received dispensation from Rome to conceal the fact for a time ; he was in process of erecting an Anglo-Catholic monastery at Littlemore, etc. In reality, as he wrote to his Bishop who had taken alarm, he had retired to Littlemore to seek the way of perfection and of a greater religious regularity. Some young men had gathered round him, for the most part troubled by doubts, and some of these who were heading for Rome, he conscientiously kept back for several years. He sets out the feelings which he entertained at this time towards that Church in a number of letters to certain Catholic correspondents. He desires the unity of the Church Catholic, but this must be brought about by a union of the Churches, and such union cannot be realized if on her side Rome does not consent to effect the necessary reforms. Protestantism is too large and too enduring to have been brought into being without cause and for no end ; Romans and Anglicans both suffer under the separation, but it is for the former to clear away the obstacles. This would be a more embracing and a wiser policy than to confine themselves to purely individual conquests.

The year 1843 is regarded by Newman as marking

the crisis. He was to find a key to the resolution of his capital objection to Rome. From a boy he had been led to consider his Maker and himself as the two beings, luminously such, *in rerum natura*. The Roman devotion to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints seemed to him an unseemly and idolatrous interposition. Dr. Russel, at that time President of Maynooth (the great Irish Seminary) had visited him in Oxford, had written to him, and had sent him, towards the end of 1842, several Catholic books, and among them a volume of Sermons by S. Alfonso de Liguori, 'plain practical, awful preaching upon the great truths of Salvation.' It was the key to his difficulty. He saw Catholicism under a new light. This impression was confirmed a little later by the study of the exercises of S. Ignatius, in which the soul and God appeared in an intercourse which devotion to the angels and the saints, however much this might be inculcated, interfered with not at all.

At about the same time, too, he felt the force of another consideration. 'The idea of the Blessed Virgin was as it were *magnified* in the Church of Rome as time went on,—but so were all the Christian ideas; as that of the Blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint, distant Apostolic Christianity is seen in Rome as through a telescope or magnifier. The harmony of the whole, however, is of course what it was. It is unfair then to take one Roman idea, that of the Blessed Virgin, out of what one may call its context.' It is thus that he was brought to the principle of development in

the Christian Church, of which he had never lost sight, but to which he attentively gave his mind at the end of 1842. He made this the subject of his last University Sermon on February 2nd, 1843. And he was led to a further consideration, that the principle not only accounted for certain facts, but was in itself a remarkable philosophical phenomenon giving a character to the whole course of Christian thought, discernible from the beginning, and to Catholic teaching a unity and individuality, fatal to Anglicanism, but favouring the Roman claim. A more attentive examination of the concatenation of argument by which the mind ascends from its first to its final religious idea led him to the conclusion that there was no mean, in true philosophy, between atheism and Catholicity, and that a perfectly consistent mind must, here below, embrace either the one or the other. Finally, he found supporting his assent to Roman Catholicism the same class of proof and the same weight of cumulative probabilities, as seemed to him characteristic of religious belief—theism, Christianity, Catholicism ; a great and broad principle thus strengthened the weak points in the chain of reasoning and argument which bore him on the road to Rome.

Newman never sinned against the light. For him, with his sensitive conscience, to know was to act. In the month of February, 1843, he published a formal retractation of all the hard things which he had said against the Church of Rome. He had said them in good faith, and it was in good faith that he withdrew them. He had simply trusted the Angli-

can divines, and he was angry with them for having taken him in. In September he resigned the living of Saint Mary's. In May he was writing : ' As far as I can analyse my own convictions, I consider the Roman Catholic Communion to be the Church of the Apostles, and that what grace is among us (which, through God's mercy, is not little) is extraordinary, and from the overflowings of His dispensation. I am very far more sure that England is in schism, than that the Roman additions to the primitive Creed may not be developments, arising out of a keen and vivid realizing of the Divine Depositum of Faith.' A letter of October contains this significant passage, which had been called forth by the general attitude, and in particular that of the bishops, towards Tract 90 : ' I fear that I must confess, that, in proportion as I think the English Church is showing herself intrinsically and radically alien from Catholic principles, so do I feel the difficulties of defending her claims to be a branch of the Catholic Church. It seems a dream to call a communion Catholic, when one can neither appeal to any clear statement of Catholic doctrine in its formularies, nor interpret ambiguous formularies by the received and living Catholic sense, whether past or present. Men of Catholic views are too truly but a party in our Church.'

And so as a first step towards his severance from the Anglican Church we find Newman no longer holding clerical office but simply in lay communion, ' attending its services as usual, and abstaining altogether from intercourse with Catholics, from

their places of worship, and from those religious rites and usages, such as the Invocation of Saints, which are characteristics of their creed. 'I did all this on principle; for I never could understand how a man could be of two religions at once.' His convictions are not yet Catholic. He is in a state of serious doubt. He foresees the issue and what he one day will perhaps be, but he is not this yet. Such a state of instability could not last: neither duty nor reason could have tolerated this. But he was afraid. He had been deceived once, would he be a second time? 'In 1840 I listened to the rising doubt in favour of Rome, now I listened to the waning doubt in favour of the Anglican Church. To be certain is to know that one knows; what inward test had I, that I should not change again, after that I had become a Catholic? . . . However, some limit ought to be put to these vague misgivings; I must do my best and then leave it to a higher Power to prosper it. So, at the end of 1844, I came to the resolution of writing an Essay on Doctrinal Development; and then, if at the end of it, my convictions in favour of the Roman Church were not weaker, of taking the necessary steps for admission into her fold.' He began the work in the beginning of 1845, and he was hard at it all through the year till October. 'As I advanced, my difficulties so cleared away that I ceased to speak of "the Roman Catholics," and boldly called them Catholics. Before I got to the end, I resolved to be received, and the book remains in the state in which it was then, unfinished.'

Newman himself regarded his conversion as a response to a case of personal conscience, and he expresses this forcibly in a letter of January, 1845 : 'The simple question is : can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? Am *I* in safety, were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in *me*, not joining another communion?' We know the solution, and Newman, in a letter of November, 1845, sums up in broad strokes the stages by which he was brought to it. 'If I must specify what I mean by "Anglican principles," I should say, e.g., taking Antiquity, not the *existing Church*, as the oracle of truth ; and holding that the *Apostolic Succession* is a sufficient guarantee of Sacramental Grace, *without union with the Christian Church throughout the World*. I think these still the firmest, strongest ground against Rome—that is, *if they can be held* [as truth or facts]. They *have* been held by many and are far more difficult to refute in the Roman controversy, than those of any other religious body. For myself, I found *I could not* hold them. I left them. From the time I began to suspect their unsoundness, I ceased to put them forward. When I was fairly sure of their unsoundness, I gave up my living. When I was fully confident that the Church of Rome was the only true Church, I joined her.'

Once he had joined her, what a change! His eyes were suddenly opened. Spontaneously, apart from any definite act of reason or any argument, 'I recognized at once a reality [in the Catholic Church] which was quite a new thing with me.

Then I was sensible that I was not making for myself a Church by an effort of thought ; I needed not to make an act of faith in her, I had not painfully to force myself into a position, but my mind fell back upon itself in relaxation and in peace, and I gazed at her almost passively as a great objective fact. I looked at her ;—at her rites, her ceremonial, and her precepts ; and I said " this *is* a religion," and then, when I looked back upon the poor Anglican Church, for which I had laboured so hard, and upon all that appertained to it, and thought of our various attempts to dress it up doctrinally and esthetically, it seemed to me to be the veriest of nonentities.'*

**Apologia* p. 339. Note on the Anglican Church.

CHAPTER II

Miracles*

NEWMAN'S volume on miracles* contains two essays: the first on *The Miracles of Scripture* written in 1825-26 for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana;* the second on *The Miracles of the first age of Christianity* written in 1842-43 as a preface to a translation of a portion of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History;* the two collected and republished with some notes by Newman in 1870.

I

'A miracle may be considered as an event inconsistent with the constitution of nature, that is, with the established course of things in which it is found. Or, again, an event in a given system which cannot be referred to any law, or accounted for by the operation of any principle, in that system.' It does not necessarily imply a violation of natural laws, but only the intervention of an external cause, which, in the case of a true miracle, is God himself, however difficult it may be to draw the line between

* *Two Essays on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles,* Longmans, edition of 1892.

events which are simply extraordinary and those which are strictly miraculous. But to consider miracles merely with reference to a system or an assemblage of laws to which they are exceptions is to take an incomplete and a false view of them, for they may well coincide with the laws of another system, in which they would be entirely in place and where their characteristics would take on a normal shape. This system is that of Revelation, which being ' a direct message from God to man, itself bears in some degree a miraculous character. . . . And as a Revelation itself, so again the evidences of a Revelation may all more or less be considered miraculous.' Prophecy, the spread of Christianity, the sublime moral teaching of the Gospel, these only bear witness in favour of Revelation owing to the impossibility of explaining them by purely natural causes.

Newman expressly confines himself to the consideration of Miracles of the physical order. They hold a very prominent place in the Old and New Testament ; they are most striking and conclusive evidence, as simple as it is obvious. They form, however, but one group among others. One or other of these groups may strike with greater force certain minds, or again suffer a kind of fluctuation in its value as a proof, from time to time, and with locality or people ; but taken as a whole their demonstrative force is measured by their multiple rather than by their additive effect. Naturally the existence of God is postulated, for the miracle presupposes rather than proves it. ' His particular

interference it directly proves, while it only reminds us of His existence. It professes to be the signature of God to a message delivered by human instruments ; and therefore supposes that signature in some degree already known, from His ordinary works. . . . A miracle is no argument to one who is deliberately, and on principle, an atheist.' In the abstract a miracle or an exception to the laws of nature may not be more convincing than these laws themselves ; it may nevertheless be more striking owing to the disturbance which it produces at a given point ; ' it displays the Deity in action . . . bears more directly on the fact of His moral government. . . . Hence, besides banishing ideas of Fate and Necessity, miracles have a tendency to rouse conscience, to awaken to a sense of responsibility, to remind of duty, and to direct the attention to those marks of divine Government already contained in the ordinary course of events.' And if this is true of individual miracles, how much more is it of a system of miracles operated by God for a definite end !

The investigation of a miracle considered as an historical fact does not differ in kind from that of other historical facts, but only in being of a more searching nature, as is properly demanded by its extraordinary character. It is then to the evidence that we must turn. But this is so convincing that unbelievers have found it necessary ' to deny the admissibility of even the strongest testimony, if offered in behalf of miraculous events, and thus to get rid of the only means by which they can be proved to have taken place.' The most popular form which

the objection to miracles takes is to point to the wonderful tales which one finds in every age and country, tales in which religion in general plays a part ; from which fact a resemblance is deduced, and without further to-do all such stories, including those of the Scripture narrative, are grouped under the name of fables, legends, myths, etc. A more refined argument is that advanced by Hume,* in which he maintains that it is more probable that the testimony should be false than that the miracle should be true. An appeal to Divine omnipotence is, it is true, sufficient to prove the possibility of a miracle, so far as the mere question of power is concerned ; but this is not the only point in question. God can doubtless perform miracles ; but is it worthy of Him ? Can one with propriety refer them to Him, and, if so, which ? It is a fundamental question, and an affirmative answer to it will demolish both Hume's objection, and that stated in its popular form.

' In examining what miracles may properly be ascribed to the Deity, Hume supplies us with an observation so just, when taken in its full extent, that I shall make it the groundwork of the inquiry on which I am entering.' Hume says in fact, that as God discovers Himself to us by His works, we have no rational grounds for ascribing to Him attributes or actions dissimilar from those which His works convey. Very true. If a miracle, however much it may be at variance with nature, has its origin in God, it must carry, as she does, the marks of the

* *Essays*, Vol. II. *Essay on Miracles.*

same divine origin. But it is just this which Newman claims to be exhibited in the miracles of the Bible. The prime error of disbelievers is that they expatiate on nature as a purely physical system, quite forgetting the existence of a moral system. The latter, though still but partially understood, has nevertheless its own clear distinguishing marks, 'certain instincts of mind; such as conscience, a sense of responsibility, and an approbation of virtue; an innate desire of knowledge, and an almost universal feeling of the necessity of religious observances; while, in fact, virtue is, on the whole, rewarded, and vice punished.' Anomalies are, it is true, met with, or what appear to be such in the light of our partial knowledge; sometimes the physical system seems to be in opposition to the moral system, yet, speaking generally, it is subordinate; so that if 'the economy of nature has so constant a reference to an ulterior plan, a miracle is a deviation from the subordinate for the sake of the superior system, and is very far indeed from being improbable, when a great moral end cannot be effected except at the expense of physical regularity.' It follows, therefore, not that the Divine plan is imperfect but that this is of a double aspect, with mutual reaction between its parts.

And so in the miracles of Scripture we have to consider not their physical but their final cause, and the latter is visible, and is, so to speak, advertised. The workers of miracles 'stand forward as their interpreters, giving them a voice and language, and a dignity demanding our regard; they set them

forth as evidences of the greatest of moral ends, a Revelation from God, as instruments in His hand of effecting a direct intercourse between Himself and His creatures.' On the other hand, if the signs—the aspirations and needs of man, the watchful mercies of Providence—are not wanting in favour of the probability of a Revelation, and if the latter puts forward prodigies as its letters of credit, it is clear that the balance weighs on the side of the miracle. Those who on *a priori* grounds deny this have simply given all their attention to the physical laws and have completely lost sight of the moral laws, which, equally with the others, form a system in which miracles have their place and find their prime justification. ' Facts are only so far improbable as they fall under no general rule ; whereas it is as parts of an existing system that the miracles of Scripture demand our attention, as resulting from known attributes of God, and corresponding to the ordinary arrangements of His providence.' They connect man and his Maker and introduce him to the means of securing his happiness in another and eternal state of being. It is thus that miracles present themselves in revealed religion.

This moral and religious characteristic is in evidence from the beginning, but gains in precision and is enlargened as Revelation itself progresses. ' The express purpose of the Jewish miracles is to confirm the natural evidence of one God, the Creator of all things, to display His attributes and will with distinctness and authority, and to enforce the obliga-

tion of religious observances, and the sinfulness of idolatrous worship.' There is nothing random, nothing petty ; nor are they strewn confusedly over the face of history, for with few exceptions they are reducible to three great eras : the formation of the Hebrew Church and polity, the religious reformation in the times of the idolatrous kings, and the promulgation of the Gospel. Moreover the workers of miracles are neither kings nor priests, whose sacred character was already recognized, but the prophets who stand forth and speak in God's name with a confidence which only the prodigies they had worked could render acceptable. Miracles, then, form a whole of which the parts are mutually supporting, and which are directed to one end, a plan which reveals itself in the course of the centuries, and cannot be other than ' the steady and sustaining purpose of one Sovereign Mind.' In the New Testament, so revolutionary and in some points so different from the Old, the divine intervention remains true to the same principles and operates on the same lines. There must be noted, too, certain secondary characteristics which recommend the Scripture miracles ; their appositeness to times and places ; ' their originality, beauty, and immediate utility ; . . . they are grave, simple, unambiguous, majestic ; ' they are, especially in the New Testament, remarkable for their benevolent and merciful character, and for the moral instruction and symbolism which make of the miracles of Christ, in particular, so many lessons in concrete form. Accordingly what we may call ' Hume's canon '

turns upon its author. Miracles are in perfect conformity with what we know of Providence and the Divine attributes. Setting aside a few exceptions they as a whole ' bear a determinate and consistent character, being great and extraordniary means for attaining a great, momentous, and extraordinary object.'

But if this canon provides a justification of the true miracles of the Jewish and Christian Revelations, it is destructive to the pretensions of those professed miracles which may be met with outside these Revelations. These we may group in categories according to the antecedent reasons as to why they cannot be referred to the agency of God.

' Those which are not even referred by the workers of them to Divine Agency.' Such are the extraordinary works attributed to Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Apollonius, which only claim to be the result of their superior wisdom ; such, too, are the supposed effects of witchcraft or of magical charms ; such are apparitions, the accounts of which are silent respecting their origin.

' Those which are unworthy of an All-wise Author.' As, for example, the miracles of Simon Magus ; those of the infancy of Christ according to the apocryphal accounts ; those ascribed to the Rabbi and to Muhammad ; those which are manifestations of mere power, unless, indeed, their immediate design be to exemplify the greatness of God, as in the descent of fire from heaven in answer to Elijah's prayer, and in Christ's walking on the sea ; those, lastly, which do not clearly reveal their

divine origin, or which are rendered improbable because they are professed by different religions, unless it be an affirmation of superiority as in the case of Elijah's sacrifice or the mighty works performed by Moses before Pharao. Newman admits that certain Scriptural miracles might seem at first sight to come into this category : Eve and the serpent, Balaam and his ass, Jonah and the whale, and the devils and the herd of swine ; but their lack of dignity is compensated for by the united force of the system of which they form a part, and an infinitesimal part ; while we must not forget to observe that in some a sufficiently clear purpose is discernible, and we may suppose, in fact, as much for the others ; for example, in the case last cited the object may well have been to prove to us the reality of demoniacal possession. Newman also includes in this category many miracles recorded by the Fathers or in the Roman Breviary, but in his preface to the definitive edition he candidly admits ' that, in the Essay upon the Scripture miracles, the author goes beyond both the needs and the claims of his argument, when, in order to show their special dignity and beauty, he depreciates the purpose and value of the Miracles of Church History.' For the matter of that he corrects himself in his second essay by pointing out generally the essential resemblance between the two groups of miracles, and in particular by some footnotes designed to warn and reassure the reader.*

* The following dates are eloquent. Newman, born in 1801, wrote the *Essay on the Miracles of Scripture* in 1825-26, the Essay on the *Miracles of Early Ecclesiastical History* in 1842-43, and was converted in 1845.

'Those which have no professed object.' Such are those of the infancy of Christ; such are sporadic miracles, dissociated from any kind of Divine message, as, for example, those attributed to the tomb of the deacon Paris, and many apparitions, which do not seem to admit of a meaning; such, too, are those where the professed worker appears to be diffident as to his own power and to lack that inspiration which is so habitual a concomitant, as, for example, the miracles ascribed by Tacitus to Vespasian; such, finally, are those which hold no essential place in the narrative which contains them, while 'the miraculous events of the Pentateuch, on the contrary, or of the Gospels and Acts, though of course they may be rejected together with the rest of the narrative, can be rejected in no other way; since they form its substance and groundwork, and like the figure of Phidias on Minerva's shield, cannot be erased without spoiling the entire composition.'

'Those which are exceptionable as regards their object.' Miracles whose object is trifling or of no importance, for the gratification of mere curiosity, or to serve the interest of a policy or party; for the conviction of individuals and followed by no relevant consequence; having a vicious or simply useless object; or, again, when they prejudice the cause they were intended to aid, or when they cease to be owing to the intervention of the civil power.

Once more, we must not forget that Newman at the time that he wrote what has gone before was heart and soul a Protestant. For him the Church of

Rome was then a false Church and her miracles false miracles, *a priori* suspect. It is not in the least astonishing, therefore, that he should regard as improbable, whether as serving no end or by their very object, miracles wrought by relics, apparitions, and generally the miracles 'of the Papists, who seem desirous of answering the unbeliever's demands for a perpetual miracle.' The answer is not difficult, and it consists chiefly in remembering that we are here concerned with 'the antecedent credibility of a miracle,' that is to say with what seems to us ought to be the end and the condition of a miracle; but these after all are governed by the wisdom and the good pleasure of God. Moreover these guiding principles, even should they determine more or less strongly against the probability of certain miracles must not 'go so far as to deprive testimony of them of the privilege of being heard.' They help us not so much in deciding what miracles are improbable as in determining those which are probable. But, even in this case, 'nothing is thereby proved concerning the fact of its occurrence.' Nevertheless, and before establishing this fact of occurrence, the conclusion arrived at in the comparative study here summarized is that the miracles of Scripture command attention by reason of their antecedent probability, 'inasmuch as they are ascribed to an adequate cause, recommended by an intrinsic dignity, and connected with an important object.'

Nothing then stands in the way of our referring miracles to a first cause. Might it not, however, be that they could derive from other causes, as has been

claimed ? What criterion have we that the Scripture miracles are in truth of divine origin ? And first, what are we to think of the race of pure spirits and of their possible intervention ? We know nothing definite either of the one or the other except from Scripture itself. But granting the fact of both, difficulties quickly present themselves to which various solutions have been proposed : The distinction between the importance of miracles regarded from the point of view of their character or number, the nature of the doctrine they attest, or even a denial pure and simple of the power of spiritual beings. Newman does not range himself on the side of any of these opinions which he regards as dangerous. It seems to him simpler and more true to say that ' since God has adopted miracles as the seal of a divine message, we believe He will never suffer them to be so counterfeited as to deceive the humble inquirer.' Moreover is it not evident that we must ascribe interruptions in the cause of nature to the Author of nature ? It can be but His province thus to intervene, and the workers of miracles assure us in Scripture that it is indeed He who intervenes.

' A more subtle question remains, respecting the possible existence of causes in nature, to us unknown.' But again the answer is not so difficult. Doubtless it is sometimes not easy to distinguish between the supernatural and what is merely uncommon ; doubtless, too, in a question such as that of miracles, even the wildest hypotheses have a certain right to be heard ; granted that some of the

Scripture miracles, if they stood alone, might be explicable on natural principles unknown to us, or by some happy combination of accidental circumstances. But taken all together! 'If many, even separately taken, are far beyond the conceivable effects of artifice or accident, how much more so when they meet together in one and the same history.' And so the solution takes the form of an alternative: 'Whether gratuitously to suppose a multitude of perfectly unknown causes, and these, moreover, meeting in one and the same history, or to have recourse to one, and that a known power, then miraculously exerted for an extraordinary and worthy object.' There is a second consideration in favour of the superiority of the Scripture miracles: they remain refractory to the various natural explanations given of other so-called miracles, which we can classify as follows:—

Miracles 'which may be referred to misstatement in the testimony,' exaggeration of natural events as in pagan mythology and history; plays upon words; dreams growing into visions; events of which the miraculous character depends on a complicated combination of circumstances, of which a single one, that of time, for example, may be of vast consequence. It is this which makes Prophecy, considered by itself, less simple and less striking than a miracle properly called.

'Those which, from suspicious circumstances attending them, may not unfairly be referred to an unknown cause.' Such are miracles which take place in departments of nature little understood.

Such, too, are those which are limited to a series of events always the same. 'While the miracles of Scripture are frugally dispensed as regards their object and seasons, they are carefully varied in their nature ; like the work of One who is not wasteful of His riches, yet can be munificent when occasion calls for it.' Such, lastly, are all those so-called miracles which inequality of success, diffidence in their agents, slowness or instability in their effect, the use of certain means or dependence on a certain locality, give rise to legitimate suspicions, which, however, other circumstances may completely dissipate, as when Our Lord cured the blind man by touching his eyes with a morsel of clay.

'Those which may be referred to the supposed operation of a cause known to exist.' Such are those miracles which are purely psychological, 'it being only under certain circumstances that such power can clearly be discriminated from the natural exercise of astuteness and sagacity.' Such, too, are those which are referable to a physical cause known to produce similar phenomena. The imagination may also play a leading part in cures or visions, and the latter in particular have need of confirmation by objective proofs.

We cannot then speak of a criterion, for 'there is no one definite peculiarity, applicable to all cases, but the combined force of a number of varying circumstances determining our judgment in each particular instance. . . . Certain it is, that the great variety of circumstances under which the Christian miracles were wrought, furnishes an evi-

dence for their divine origin, in addition to that derived from their publicity, clearness, number, instantaneous production, and completeness.'

The principle question still remains to be solved. So far an answer has only been given to the two great objections of unbelievers : a miracle is incredible ; a miracle is a common place. The miracles of Scripture, antecedently credible and transcendent, have these been proved ? This is the subject of the third comparative inquiry, from which there will result a third source of superiority in their favour. Their proof rests on direct testimony. ' The credibility of testimony arises from the belief we entertain of the character and competency of the witnesses.' A miracle does not call for testimony distinct in kind but only in quality, that is to say ' a testimony strong in proportion to the improbability of the particular fact attested,' though, it is true, we cannot exactly determine the strength needed. This depends on the attendant circumstances, which will demand more or less according to the object, the occasion, the manner, the agent of the miracle. And since the honesty and competence of a witness may be established in various ways, more or less convincing—for we are concerned with moral evidence —we must eschew formalism and not demand a given kind of proof to the exclusion of others, but be satisfied with one or the other, provided it suffice.

The honesty of a witness may be rendered suspect by the fact that he has some interest at stake : desire of gain, of power, or of some other temporal advantage ; party spirit or religious rivalry ;—by

the very character of the witness whose reputation may be such as to inspire a proper mistrust ;—by the nature of the testimony itself : inconsistencies, prevarications, marks of unfairness, exaggerations, suppression of particulars, the impossibility of corroborating it, etc.

The competence of witnesses is under suspicion if there be a deficiency of examination. This may result from the very circumstances of the case : distance of time or place ; the witnesses too few or a confused crowd. Those only are acceptable who are eye-witnesses, and the only convincing testimony is a circumstantial narrative showing complete knowledge of the facts, or at any rate allowing of a supplementary inquiry. Miracles which are not lasting, visions, voices, are less easy of verification ; on the other hand cures of diseases or deformities where the cures are complete, lend themselves to the most rigorous examination and offer the clearest evidence, and it is to these that Our Lord especially appealed in proof of His mission. Deficiency of examination can equally result from the character of the witnesses : physical or mental incapacity—a case which cannot reasonably be expected to arise if the witnesses are numerous—enthusiasm, ignorance, credulity. We must here be on our guard against going to the opposite extreme in requiring the testimony of learned or cultured men. 'Men of philosophical minds are often too fond of inquiring into the causes and mutual dependence of events, of arranging, theorizing, and refining, to be accurate and straight-

forward in their account of extraordinary occurrences. Instead of giving a plain statement of facts, they are insensibly led to correct the evidence of their senses with a view to account for the strange phenomenon. . . . The facility with which the Japanese ascribed the ascent of a balloon, which they witnessed at St. Petersburg, to the powers of magic (a circumstance which has been sometimes urged against the admission of unlearned testimony), is only the conduct of theorists accounting for a novel phenomenon on the principles of their own system.' It is sufficient to be able to appreciate a rule, to be able also to appreciate the exception. It is not necessary to be a medical man to see a person sick and then suddenly cured. We must not say that ignorance hinders a witness from distinguishing between natural and supernatural events. We must not exaggerate the difficulty or generalize on it, and, after all, all that is required is that the facts should be faithfully reported ; we can pass judgment on them afterwards for ourselves.

The witnesses of our Saviour's miracles can be and should be believed. They were of a race of alert mind, sharpened further by political and commercial relations. It is not lightly or without examination that they let themselves be moved and above all transformed ; for, and in this lies the great test, ' a conversion in principles and mode of life, and a consequent sacrifice of all that nature holds dear, to which none would submit except after the fullest examination of the authority enjoining it. . . in a word, then, the conversion which Christ and

His Apostles effected invalidates the charge of blind credulity in the witnesses; the practical nature of the belief wrought in them proving that it was founded on an examination of the miracles.' There is still more. If the influence of authority or of a pre-existing system may throw suspicion on the value of testimony, the entire opposite is the case when the movement has its rise in the people and when the miracles form the very point of departure and the foundations of the system. 'The Christian miracles in particular were received on their own merits; and the admission of them became the turning-point in the creed and life of the witnesses, which henceforth took a new and altogether different direction.' The first article of the Apostolic faith was a miracle, the Resurrection of their Master. It has been objected that the happiness of the future state preached by the Apostles may have wrought on the minds of their hearers, who were thus persuaded to admit the miracles without a rigorous examination. But this happiness to come, who stood guarantee for it? And then, 'most men, even in a Christian country, are too well satisfied with this world to look forward to another with any great and settled anxiety.' Declarations of coming judgment have their effect, and they are believed because they are in Scripture; but the fact that they are in Scripture is no proof of Christianity.

Newman has laid particular stress on the Christian miracles, not because the Jewish are not firmly established, but because the former are the more striking; and, since both form part of the

same system, the ones prove the others. Further, the truth of Christianity reposes on yet another basis. Her fortune has been so singular that ' it is only by being made unnatural that the Christian narrative can be deprived of a supernatural character ; and we may safely affirm that the strongest evidence we possess for the most certain facts of other history, is weak compared to that on which we believe that the first preachers of the Gospel were gifted with miraculous powers.' Lastly we must never forget that proof derived from miracles in the physical order is not the only, even though it be a principal proof of Revelation, and that even 'supposing (for the sake of argument) it were altogether inconclusive at the present day, still the other evidences, as they are called, would be fully equal to prove to us the divine origin of Christianity.'

II

' Sacred history is distinguished from profane by the nature of the facts which enter into its composition, and which are not always such as occur in the ordinary course of things, but are extraordinary and divine. Miracles are its characteristic, whether it be viewed as biblical or ecclesiastical.' The history of Religion is necessarily of a theological cast and cannot leave out of account the Supernatural, if this is not a mere hypothesis but enters into the very web of the story. Not to take this into account ' is to profess to write the annals of a reign, yet to be silent about the monarch,—to overlook, as it were, his

personal character and professed principles, his indirect influence and immediate acts.' Many things in the history of the early centuries of the Church, and it is with this that we are here concerned, are of a kind to startle the reader who is steeped in modern ideas, and nothing perhaps more than the narrative of supernatural events. Accordingly Newman thought it meet to enlighten and assist such a reader by writing on this very subject a preface to the translation of a portion of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*. He again takes up the three main divisions—nature, credibility, evidence—of his study on the miracles of Scripture, and to these he compares the miracles of the times which succeeded the Apostolic age.

'Now it may be asserted that there is no presumption whatever against miracles generally in the ages after the Apostles, though there may be and is a certain antecedent improbability in this or that particular miracle.' These miracles have even a certain advantage over those of Scripture, in that coming after them they are, as it were, attested to in advance by them. 'Whatever be the regularity and stability of nature, interference with it can be, because it has been; there is One who both has power over His own work, and who before now has not been unwilling to exercise it.' It may, nevertheless, be urged in reply that a distinction should be made. That miracles have taken place proves the possibility of subsequent miracles, if we consider only the general character of a miracle; but the ecclesiastical miracles are not the miracles of Scrip-

ture, and have a false status precisely because they are additions to what may well have been a closed cycle, and are moreover to be distinguished from them by the difference in their circumstances and characteristics.

Some Anglican writers, in their desire to oppose a limit of non-admittance to the miracles alleged by Papists to have taken place, tried actually to prove that the era of miracles had long been closed, and in fact that it had ceased with the Apostolic age. In short they adopt with regard to ecclesiastical miracles Hume's position and line of argument as regards miracles in general. They attempt to discover in the probable ends which the Agent of the miracle must have in view, a criterion and a principle by which a distinction may be made, all the time admitting with an inconsequence which is to their credit, ' that Infinite Wisdom may see ends the importance of which may lie hid from our shallow intelligence.' But even admitting this hypothetical criterion, we may answer that ' what has been introduced for greater ends may, when once introduced, be made subservient to secondary ones. . . . Nothing is more common in scientific and social arrangements.' So miracles, having served the primary object of establishing the Church herself, may still occur in the Church to serve other ends. But the true answer carries more sail. ' The ordinary Providence of God is conducted upon a *system ;* and as even the act of creation is now contemplated by some philosophers as possibly subject to law, so it is more probable than not that there is

also a law of supernatural manifestation. And thus the occurrence of miracles is rather a presumption for than against their recurrence ; such events being not isolated acts, but the indication of the presence of an agency. And again, since every system consists of parts varying in importance and value, so also as regards a dispensation of miracles. . . .' Lastly, Scripture, which reminds us* of the impossibility of sounding the mind of the Lord and of having a part in His counsels, and stigmatizes the folly of trying to trace the laws of Providence for the governance of the world, intimates to us† that miracles are a privilege accorded to Faith. ' This Scripture intimation, whether fainter or stronger, does, so far as it goes, add to the presumption in favour of the miracles of ecclesiastical history, by authoritatively assigning them a place in the scheme of Christianity.'

Taken as a whole these miracles appear to be very different from the miracles of Scripture, if we consider their aim or their agents, the character of the events themselves or of the documents which report them. The Scripture miracles are designed to induce acceptance of a Divine Revelation ; they are never directed to individuals but to multitudes, to a whole people ; the workers of miracles are messengers conscious of their mission and of their power of warranting it by mighty works. These, moreover, are simple, grave, and majestic, they give clear evidence of intervention from on high, and

* *Cf.* Wis. ix, 13 ; Isa. xl, 13 ; Rom. xi, 34 ; 1 Cor. ii, 16.
† S. Mark, xvi, 17, 18.

they have come down to us in narratives which are complete, clear, and authentic, and have this in common that all alike bear the stamp of truth. The ecclesiastical miracles have sometimes no object, at any rate no very evident or important one ; no distinct aim, mainly for the reason that they make their appearance in an environment already Christian ; their Agents are at times invisible or inanimate, relics, shrines, or unconscious of their power ; the miracles are often of a somewhat romantic nature ; in their wildness and inequality they seem to be but accidents or extraordinary coincidences, or again exaggerations or errors. They are to be found for the most part not in original or authentic documents, but in historical works which often relate them as floating rumours, as popular traditions, vague, various, inconsistent in detail, recorded at a distance from the time and country of their origin ; true and false miracles lie mixed together and need to be sorted.

These differences appear in concrete form in the examples drawn from the lives of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, S. Antony, S. Hilarion, S. Martin, and from the last pages of the *De Civitate Dei*. Similar narratives of exorcisms—these predominate, cures, and visions may be read in the authors of the second and third centuries, but the accounts are more vague and general, though sometimes in terms sufficiently clear and forcible to bear witness to conflicts between the powers of heaven and hell, as patent as in the time of Our Lord and the Apostles. And there are other miracles, some of them famous,

which do not fall into any one of these groups. Nevertheless taken as a whole the contrast between the Scripture and Ecclesiastical miracles is a striking one, and the Fathers witness to this when they say, adducing reasons, that miracles have ceased to be, at least such as the Apostles wrought, which were as remarkable in their object as in their power of enforcing conviction. The inner character of Ecclesiastical miracles must therefore be examined to ascertain if it opposes a real objection to their acceptance.

Newman uses very skilfully the argument from analogy ; he bids us cast our eyes on nature and on what it reveals to us of the character of God's works. Everything in it is assuredly good and excellent, yet what 'an exuberance and variety, a seeming profusion and disorder!' A little wider view of the animal kingdom by itself, for instance, is quite capable of surprising and even startling the mind. 'When an eye thus habituated to certain forms, colours, motions, and habits in the inferior animals, is suddenly brought into the full assemblage of these mysterious beings, with which it has pleased Almighty Wisdom to people the earth, a sort of dizziness comes over it . . . the mind loses its balance, and it is not too much to say, that in some cases it even falls into a sort of scepticism.' It is dangerous to make for oneself a too narrow idea of God, and to regard that idea as adequate. This principle applies also to the supernatural works of God : we must guard ourselves against trying to measure them by a preconceived rule. 'It may be as shallow a philosophy to reject miracles merely

because they are not such as we should have expected from God's hand, or as we find in Scripture, as to judge of universal nature by the standard of our own home.' One can almost go so far as to say that the variety in the natural world is an *a priori* reason for expecting to find a like variety in the supernatural world, both, if the latter form a system, in the diversity and inequality of its several parts, and hence to find ecclesiastical miracles differing from those of Scripture and even inferior to them; 'for, if Divine Wisdom had determined, as is not difficult to believe, that the wonderful works which illuminate the history of the first days of the Church should be the best and highest, what was left to subsequent times by the very terms of the proposition, but miracles which are second best?'

The natural order suggests yet another argument in favour of ecclesiastical miracles, for if they 'are in some sense an innovation upon the idea of the Divine Economy, as impressed upon us by the miracles of Scripture, it is at least equally true that the Scripture miracles also innovate upon the impressions which are made upon us by the order and the laws of the natural world. . . . Walking on the sea, or the resurrection of the dead, is a plain reversal of its laws. On the other hand, the narrative of the combats of S. Antony with evil spirits is a development rather than a contradiction of Revelation; viz., as illustrating such texts as speak of Satan being cast out by prayer and fasting.' Those who argue from these differences to belie on *a priori* grounds ecclesiastical miracles are but adopting Hume's

argument against miracles in general, namely ' that the first cause cannot act supernaturally at all, because in nature He can but act naturally ; ' and it is only by ' a happy inconsistency, that they continue to believe the Scripture record. Nor are those on safer ground who argue, with the same purpose in view, from the wholly subjective idea of propriety ; for the same argument is formulated by those who deny the notion of miracles in general, as being utterly improper. ' There is so much beauty, majesty, and harmony in the order of nature, so much to fill, satisfy, and tranquilize the mind, that by those who are accustomed to the contemplation the notion of an infringement of it will at length be viewed as a sort of profanation.' We must mistrust a false zeal for our Master's honour.

The discussion has hitherto been pursued on the supposition that there is a distinct line of demarcation between the miracles of Scripture and those of Church history. It is hardly necessary to say that this is far from being the case, and that it is only when they are taken as a whole that a difference exists. Both groups offer exceptions which form as it were points of similarity and of contact. Here again the analogy of the physical world is applicable. ' As in the natural world the animal and vegetable kingdoms imperceptibly melt into each other, so are there mutual affinities and correspondences between the two families of miracles as found in inspired and uninspired history, which show that, whatever may be their separate peculiarities, yet as far as concerns their internal characteristics, they

admit of being parts of one system.' Possession and exorcism, the supernatural power of relics, the multiplication of the wood of the true Cross, change wrought in a substance or in its properties, the absence or inapprehensiveness of human instruments, suspicion or even incredulity on the subject of miracles, all this is so to speak anticipated in the miracles of Scripture. And these again may be distributed in three groups, Mosaic, Prophetical, and Evangelical, which however distinct as a whole, are nevertheless not entirely exclusive. So that certain similar cases create between them a kind of 'intercommunion' and unity. Moreover an analogy may be perceived to exist between the Ecclesiastical and Evangelical miracles, and the Prophetical and Mosaic : in both cases the later miracles are as it were a supplement in which the action of Providence is renewed and carried further ; with the Jews, by the Prophets ; with the Christians, by the ascetics, solitaries, founders, confessors, and reformers, who are so to speak the prophets of the New Testament. Their miracles, too, have a romantic character ; they hold up to our eyes Him who walked with Israel, who is with the Church ; ever will they 'seem to be in correspondence, as they are contemporaneous, with the developments and additions in dogmatic statements which have occurred between the Apostolic and the present age, and which are but a result and an evidence of spiritual life.'

The fact that there are miracles on the falsity of which all are agreed does not justify the rejection of all miracles, any more than a counterfeit disproves

the existence of a prototype, which, on the contrary, we may say is proved by it. Religious minds have, as it were, a tendency to see miracles where they do not exist, and, if they do come across them, to give an inexact account of them ; to exaggerate or to embellish. But we must always keep in mind this principle of sound criticism, that ' a fact is not disproved because the testimony is confused or insufficient ; it is only unproved.' Further, certain phenomena may be entirely in the course of nature though extraordinary, and Providence may perfectly well employ them for His ends ; accordingly the natural and supernatural may at times intermingle ; ' it will be impossible to draw the line between the two ; and the possibility of explaining some of them on natural principles will unjustly prejudice the mind against accounts of those which cannot be so explained.' We must equally remember those men of whom Scripture speaks, ' who would fain purchase the gift of God,' and, being unable to do so, counterfeit it. There will not be one true miracle the less ; there will only be some false miracles the more. Lastly, the objection based on the legendary character of many of the narratives which have transmitted accounts of Ecclesiastical miracles, would only have any force if it were ' an absurdity to contemplate a gift of miracles without an attendant gift of inspiration to record them . . . the character of facts is not changed because they are incorrectly reported.' Had not inspiration interposed, the canonical Gospels would doubtless have presented us with a mixture of truth and falsehood ;

but even then they would be deserving of our attention so far as we were able to separate the true from the false. Such is the case with the Ecclesiastical miracles, and it is the value of their proofs which we now have to examine.

Newman first criticizes the ground taken by certain Anglican apologists. These answer Hume by an argument *de facto* : You say that miracles are impossible, but it is much more impossible that the relation of miraculous events which Scripture contains should not be true. Unhappily they do not stop there. They tacitly admit Hume's principle, while restricting it to Ecclesiastical miracles. For them too the antecedent improbability of a miracle is such that they will only yield to the strongest and most overpowering proofs. There is no middle way : miracles can only be scorned as ridiculous fictions or venerated as indisputable truths. A proof less clear or less absolute does not leave us merely less convinced, but absolutely sceptical. Newman finds the logic of this attitude sufficiently strange, as he does also the following guiding principle, namely that miracles differ from ordinary events in this, that it is perfectly natural to suspect the former unless they be supported by the strongest evidence, whereas it is perfectly natural to admit the latter, unless equally strong proofs render them suspect.

Newman has no difficulty in getting to the root of all this sophistry which merely goes to prove ' that our feeling towards the Ecclesiastical miracles turns much less on the evidence producible for them than

on our view concerning their antecedent probability. If we think such interpositions of Providence likely or not unlikely, there is quite enough evidence existing to convince us that they really do occur ; if we think them unlikely . . . then even evidence as great as that which is producible for the miracles of Scripture would not be too much, nay, perhaps not enough, to conquer an inveterate, deep-rooted, and (as it may be called) ethical incredulity.' But there is something still more fundamental and that is the actual idea which we hold of what the Church is. To those who regard it as ' little more than a creed or doctrine, introduced into the world once for all and then left to itself . . . unattended by any special Divine Presence or any immediately supernatural gift . . . the miracle of ecclesiastical history must needs be a shock, and almost an outrage, disturbing their feelings and unsettling their most elementary notions and thoroughly received opinions.' Their philosophical standpoint is easily explicable ' granting that the Lord of all is present with Christians only in the way of nature, as with His creatures all over the earth.' On the other hand if the extraordinary character of the Church is better appreciated, ' if we only go so far as to realize what Christianity is, when considered merely as a creed, and what stupendous overpowering facts are involved in the doctrine of a Divine Incarnation, we shall feel that no miracle can be great after it, nothing strange or marvellous, nothing beyond expectation.'

The proof then in support of ecclesiastical miracles consists not so much in discussing their

respective claims as in establishing their antecedent probability. 'If the miracles alleged are in harmony with the course of Divine Providence in the world, and with the analogy of faith as contained in Scripture, if it is possible to account for them, if they are referable to a known cause or system, and especially if it can be shown that they are recognized, promised, or predicted in Scripture, very little positive evidence is necessary to induce us to listen to them or even accept them, if not one by one, at least viewed as a collective body. In that case they are but the natural effects of supernatural agency. . . . Surely we have no cause to be surprised at hearing supernatural events reported in any age, and though we may freely exercise our best powers of inquiry and judgment on such and such reports, as they come before us, yet this is very different from hearing them with prejudice, and examining them with contempt or insult.'

The promise made by Our Lord which is found at the end of S. Mark's Gospel: 'These signs shall follow them that believe, etc.,' at once occurs to the memory. While He was yet on earth when He sent out His Apostles to serve the apprenticeship of their ministry, He had given them supernatural power. Cast out devils, heal the sick, these injunctions are met with in both cases. And in fact it is these two classes of miracles which especially strike us in reading the Acts of the Apostles, while to these also the greater number of the miracles wrought by Our Lord Himself may be referred,—to which must be added the visions and divine intimations of

which the same book offers numerous examples. But it is precisely these three classes of miracle which are found most frequently in the primitive Church. It follows that the negation aimed at the latters hits the former also, and that those authors who wish at all costs to explain away the ecclesiastical miracles will finish by proving at one blow that Christ has promised to believers as signs of their faith and to His Apostles as a weapon of conquest ' phenomena which have nothing necessarily miraculous about them at all.' Newman feels a malicious pleasure in quoting some of the explanations of ecclesiastical miracles proposed by certain Anglicans, and in applying them to miracles of Scripture of the same kind, as if to teach these authors the danger of playing with two-edged weapons. He recalls very appositely a distinction of real value. Cures and exorcisms ' may be suspicious to read of, but not to see. . . . Generalized statements and abstract arguments are poor representations of fact ; but, as they are used to serve the purpose of those who would disparage Saints, it is necessary to show that they can be turned by unbelievers as plausibly, though as sophistically, against Apostles.'

The same words with which Our Lord promised this gift of miracles suggests an answer to other objections. He said simply : ' These signs shall follow *them that believe.*' The promise is made neither to the preacher nor to the believer as a proof of his mission or as a reward for his faith, but to believers in general, that is to say to the society of

the faithful, to the Church. And it is just this that we already find in the Gospels and in the Acts : a kind of universality in the depositaries of the divine gifts. Accordingly, when the same antagonists of the ecclesiastical miracles assert ' that, after the days of the Apostles no *standing power* of miracles was continued *to* the Church, to which they might perpetually appeal for the conviction of unbelievers ', they are right in the unduly restricted sense in which they understand the power, with the organization and finality which they attribute to it. But ecclesiastical history inculcates rather another doctrine, ' an abiding presence of Divinity such as dwelt upon the Ark, showing itself as it would, and when it would, and without fixed rules. . . . The ideas of " regular succession," conscious " exercise " of power, objects deliberately contemplated, discretionary use of a gift, and the like, are quite foreign to a theory of miraculous agency of this kind,' and supply an interpretation, as subjective as it is false, of the gift of miracles to the Church.

The true interpretation resolves also the difficulties grounded in ' the apparent disorder and want of method in the divine manifestations : ' the fact, for instance, that the Fathers of the Church were not the depositaries but only the witnesses of this gift. Similarly, too, may be explained the often doubtful character of the circumstances and the evidence, for ' since the Divine manifestation was arbitrary, the testimony would necessarily be casual '—chance spectators, the story which they circulated, the more since the principal parties would be the very last

persons ' to court publicity.' On the other hand the general terms in which the Fathers expressed themselves are all in favour of their sincerity : ' When we are speaking of what is obvious, and allowed on all hands, we do not go about to prove it.' We must judge the Fathers without falling into an anachronism. ' They did not foresee that evidence would become a science, that doubt would be thought a merit, and disbelief a privilege. . . . They did not feel that man was so self-sufficient, and so happy in his prospects for the future, that he might reasonably sit at home closing his ears to all reports of Divine interpositions till they were actually brought before his eyes, and faith was superseded by sense ; they did not so disparage the Spouse of Christ as to imagine that she could be accounted by professing Christians a school of error, and a workshop of fraud and imposture.'

Newman now proceeds to the examination of a certain number of celebrated miracles. Though not falling directly within the scope of his subject, this will not be without its uses, if only to correct the hasty conclusion which some of his readers may have drawn, ' that all miraculous relations and reports should be admitted unhesitatingly and indiscriminately, without any attempt at separating truth from falsehood, or suspense of judgment, or variation in the reliance placed in them one with another, or reserve or measure in the open acknowledgment of them.' So much was necessary. No one should enter upon the subject of the miracles reported in ecclesiastical history ' without being pre-

pared for fiction and exaggeration in the narrative, to an indefinite extent. This cannot be insisted on too often ; nothing but the gift of inspiration could have hindered it.' In a small number of cases the evidence is decisive and complete ; many others present a mixture of truth and falsehood, degrees of probability ; and if those which are certainly true invite his acceptance of the others, those which are certainly false incline him to reject them. ' It will be his wisdom then, not to reject or scorn accounts of miracles, where there is a fair chance of their being true ; but to allow himself to be in suspense. . . . An alleged miracle is not untrue because it is unproved ; nor is it excluded from our faith because it is not admitted into our controversy. Some are for our conviction, and these we are to " confess with the mouth " as well as " believe with the heart ; " others are for our comfort and encouragement, and these we are to " keep, and ponder them in our heart," without urging them on unwilling ears.'

It is as a matter of fact hardly astonishing that only a small number of miracles can be proved beyond possible doubt. After all, the same applies to the miracles of Scripture, if we take them singly. And so the apologists have recourse to a general argument, that ' one of the most cogent proofs of the miracles of Christ and His Apostles is drawn from their effects, it being inconceivable that a rival power to Caesar should have started out of so obscure and ignorant a spot as Galilee, and have prevailed, without some such extraordinary and

divine gifts : yet this argument, it will be observed, proves nothing about the miracles *one by one* as reported in the Gospels, but only that the Christian *story* was miraculous, or that miracles attended it.' The miracles of Scripture, and those of Church history are accordingly in this on a par with one another : some are absolutely proven and lend credit to the others, with this capital difference always, that the first are recorded in an authentic document which offers them all to us as worthy of faith, whereas the second do not enjoy a like privilege ; and those miracles which are true and beyond cavil only create in favour of the rest a general presumption which must always be verified. And this is necessary, for ' that fables have ever been in circulation . . . is too notorious to need dwelling on : it is more to the purpose to observe that the fact of such pretences has ever been acknowledged even by those who have been believers or reporters of miraculous occurrences,' beginning with S. Luke and S. Paul, who seem to put men on guard against apocryphal writings, down to Baronius and Melchior Canus, who do not mince matters in their remarks on certain revelations and compilations, high though these were in popular esteem. ' Avowals such as these . . . may serve to prepare us for fictitious miracles in ecclesiastical history in no small measure, and to show us at the same time that such fictions are no fair prejudice to others which possess the characters of truth.' This in no sense derogates from the supernatural gift residing in the Church, any more than the evil which may

be found in her, prejudices her holiness. And it would be a very clumsy policy to reject *en bloc* all the ecclesiastical miracles, for the only result would be an aggravation of the suspicions directed against the Church and against Christianity itself; for, if everything in the Church is superstition, what must we think of Christianity? 'On both sides fanaticism and superstition are admitted as existing in the history of miracles; and on neither side must these evil agents be held to throw suspicion on particular miracles which have no direct or probable connexion with them.'

We will only enumerate the miracles examined by Newman. They are the following: The thundering legion; the change of water into oil at the prayer of S. Narcissus of Jerusalem; the course of the River Lycus changed by S. Gregory Thaumaturgus; appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine; the discovery of the Holy Cross; the death of Arius; the fiery eruption on Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish temple; the recovery of the blind man by the relics of S. Gervasus and S. Protasius at Milan; the power of speech continued to the African Confessors deprived of their tongues. There is no need to insist on the critical acumen with which this examination is conducted: the documents verified, weighed, compared; conclusions legitimately arrived at; concessions liberally made; possible explanations studied. Finally it is shown that these miracles, and many others, are authentic. There are, therefore, true miracles in the Church; the presumption in their favour is upheld by experience.

He observes in conclusion ' what, indeed, is very obvious, but still may require a distinct acknowledgement ; that the view here taken of the primitive miracles is applicable in defence of those of the medieval period also. If the occurrence of miraculous interpositions depends upon the presence of the Catholic Church, and if that Church is to remain on earth until the end of the world, it follows, of course, that what will be vouchsafed to Christians at all times, was vouchsafed in the middle ages inclusively.' At all events the miracles of that period may not be rejected on *a priori* grounds and without examination. ' On the other hand, I am quite prepared to find those views themselves condemned by many readers as subtle and sophistical. This is ever the language men use concerning the arguments of others, when they dissent from their *first principles*, —which take them by surprise, and which they have not mastered.'

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES*

NEWMAN in these lectures does not profess to give a 'direct proof of Catholicism,' but 'to remove difficulties from the path of those who have already admitted the arguments in its favour.' That these difficulties may be real is natural and inevitable, if we consider what Catholicism is: her venerable history, the vastness of her expansion, the richness of her teaching, the vigour of her attacks on pride and sensuality, the number and aggressiveness of the enemies which surround her. Some souls pass over to her in the singleness of their fervour, others stop on the threshold; their enthusiasm, already damped by other causes, has not the force to carry them over the last obstacle. 'Everyone is obliged, by the law of his nature, to act by reason; yet no one likes to make a great sacrifice unnecessarily; such difficulties, then, just avail to turn the scale, and to detain men in Protestantism.' To labour to remove them is a work of charity; and to do so is not to place oneself in opposition to the free play of

* *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Vol. I. Twelve lectures addressed in 1850 to the Party of the Religious Movement of 1833 (Longmans, Edition of 1894).

the will and of grace, but to help to ' remove the occasion of sin.'

To become a Catholic is to abandon Anglicanism in order to embrace Catholicism. But why abandon the former if it is good ? and how can one embrace the latter if it is evil ? The difficulties range themselves in two opposing groups corresponding to the two poles between which conversion oscillates ; reasons for remaining an Anglican, reasons for not becoming a Catholic ; or : evidence in favour of Anglicanism, objections which may be brought against Catholicism. This corresponds too to the general division of the Lectures into two parts, which are unequal, as Newman admits, but which would have been more so, if, pressed for time, he had not cut the first a bit short and passed on to the second, so that the two taken together might form a not too incomplete whole.

I

Newman is addressing the Anglicans influenced by the movement of 1833. Like every movement this one had a principle and bounds ; and the danger lay in thinking that the one and the other could be the national Church, that the religious revival which had come out of it could return to it and remain in it in one way or another. It is to combat this idea that he devotes the first seven of these Lectures, which arrive at this first conclusion that ' communion with the Roman See is the legitimate issue of the religious movement of 1833.'

Some will think it strange and even shocking, Newman observes, that he, the zealous upholder of the dogmatic principle, and at a time when Liberalism seemed to be triumphing, should not shrink from attacking the Established Church, which, on the whole, maintains and defends the same principle. He does not overlook the good which there may be in this Church, or the good which it may have done ; he does not ignore the great men she has produced and their great works ; but he hears, at the same time, the call of duty, and he seeks to answer it by directing all his efforts towards saving at any rate some of his hearers from the waves on which they have cast themselves or from the wreck to which they are still clinging. 'For this is the truth : the Establishment, whatever it be in the eyes of men, whatever its temporal greatness and its secular prospects, in the eyes of faith is a mere wreck.'

Like the magic castle which vanishes when the spell is broken, leaving nothing where it stood but the wild heath, the barren rock, the lonely path, so too the Established Church, once the illusion is dispelled, shows itself to be what it is, a mere piece of governmental machinery, without a substance, and consequently without any persisting identity, without a past and without a future. 'It's life is an Act of Parliament.' It will only resist heresies if the State gives the word. 'While the nation wishes an Establishment, it will remain . . . and that which determines its existence will determine its voice. . . . As the nation changes its political, so may it change its religious views ; the causes which

carried the Reform Bill and Free Trade may make short work with orthodoxy.'

The proof of this dependence is patent. The movement had been going on for seventeen years, calling forth treasures of energy, developing doctrinal progress, recruiting thousands of followers ; and yet the National Church went on her way, ' with no greater conciousness of its presence, than any internal derangement or disorder creates in a man who has a work to do and is busy at it.' The Movement has formed but a party ' and the Church of the nation has pursued the nation's objects, and executed the nation's will in spite of it.' It is this principle which must be borne in mind if we are to understand the general march of events, many decisions which have been given, and, in particular, the astounding decision that within the Established Church the question of baptismal regeneration may be regarded as an open one. How should the Evangelical party presume so boldly to contravene the distinct and categorical teaching of the national formularies, if it did not feel itself supported by the nation ? And the Conservative party, can do nothing. ' A nation's laws are a nation's property, and have their life in the nation's life, and their interpretation in the nation's sentiment.' But ' the English people is sufficient for itself ; it wills to be Protestant and progressive ; and Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, Scripture, Saints, Angels, and what is above them, must give way. What are they to it ? It thinks, argues, and acts according to its own practical, intelligible, and shallow religion ;

and of that religion its bishops and divines, will they or will they not, must be exponents.' It is not a question of dogmatic or traditional truth, but, in the words of a Prime Minister of the day, of giving 'general satisfaction.' 'The giant ocean has suddenly swelled and heaved, and majestically yet masterfully snaps the cables of the smaller craft which lie upon its bosom, and strands them upon the beach. Hooker, Taylor, Bull, Pearson, Barrow, Tillotson, Warburton, and Horne, names mighty in their generation, are broken and wrecked before the power of a nation's will. One vessel alone can ride those waves ; it is the boat of Peter, the Ark of God.'

If such liberties can be taken with regard to baptism, there will hardly be any hesitation in doing the same with the dogma of the Trinity, of eternal punishment, of the inspiration of Scripture, of the existence of the devil. Those who lend themselves to this destructive work may expect to be themselves destroyed : 'to-day for me, to-morrow for thee.' Infidelity stalks abroad. And assuredly we must 'not undervalue the advantages of institutions which, though not Catholic, keep out evils worse than themselves.' But it would only be our duty to respect them if we had nothing better to take their place ; and it is precisely this better that exists, it is the Catholic Church. Moreover all she needs is fair play, and as long as fair play is not trampled underfoot by persecution, everything serves the Church. She profits by the tolerance demanded by the other sects ; Protestantism turns to

her advantage, as a poor copy sets off the original; she has nothing to fear from political parties, to none of which she is opposed; she accommodates herself equally to the spirit of progress and to conservatism; she has nothing to apprehend, except as it may affect society, from that movement of Protestantism towards Pantheism as its natural and final goal, for man has too great need of a one true God, which she alone can give him; while the artificers of error 'will find no resting-place for their feet, and the feet of their disciples, but will be tumbled down from one depth of blasphemy to another, till they arrive at sheer and naked atheism, the *reductio ad absurdum* of their initial principles.' No one need fear to obey his conscience and become a Catholic. 'If the National Church falls, it falls because it *is* national; because it left the centre of unity in the sixteenth century, not because you leave it in the nineteenth.'

The Anglican Church is then a National Church. Newman now sets out to 'try to bring home to [his hearers] the extreme want of congeniality which has existed between the movement of 1833 and the nation at large.' The conclusion to be drawn will be clear, for, 'assuming they owe their first principles to that movement, and that their first duty is to their principles, I shall infer their own want of congeniality with the national religion, however they may wish it otherwise; I shall infer that they have no concern with that national religion, have no place in it, have no reason for belonging to it, and have no responsibilities towards it.' In reality that

which has been called, or rather calls itself Anglo-Catholicism is absolutely antipathetic and heterogeneous to the national religion, ' floating upon it, a foreign substance, like oil upon water.' That this is the case is proved as much by its rise as by the course of its history.

The founders of the Movement, those who first recommended its principles and doctrines to the Established Church, were like doctors who are not over sure that the remedies which they prescribe will suit the constitution of their patient. Hurrell Froude and Newman himself had felt this forcibly and had made no secret of their feelings. Nor for that matter did their opponents, who had at once scented and denounced them as Papists in disguise. Between a Roman Catholic and Newman, said Dr. Arnold, there is this difference, ' I think the one a fair enemy, the other a treacherous one. The one is the Frenchman in his own uniform, the other is the Frenchman disguised in a red coat. I should honour the first and hang the second.' And this mutual distrust was never to be dissipated.

Whence arose these apprehensions in Newman and his friends ? ' In truth, when they feared that the good seed would fall, not on a congenial soil, but on hard, or stony, or occupied grounds, they were fearing that the National Church, though they did not use the word, had no *life*.' Life is the activity of a principle. Different principles give rise to different kinds of life ; and a principle of life cannot take root and flourish in an organism which is foreign to it. To doubt whether the Apostolic

principles, as they were called, could adapt themselves to the National Church, was, at bottom, to doubt whether it had life in itself, a spirit, energy, deriving really from these same principles. It is quite certain that the Establishment has some kind of life or faith. But 'the simple question is, what is meant by "life" and "faith"?' If life means strength, activity, energy, well-being of any kind whatever: power, influence, initiative, adherents many in number, distinguished and generous; a tone which it gives to the government and to society, order which it maintains among the people, charities which it supports for the benefit of the poor; if all this, the National Church overflows with life. But this life, what is it? Catholic? Supernatural? 'Is it congenial with, does it proceed from, does it belong to, the principles of Apostles, Martyrs, Evangelists, and Doctors, the principles which the movement of 1833 thought to impose or to graft upon it, or does it revolt from them?'

'We know that it is the property of life to be impatient of any foreign substance in the body to which it belongs. It will be Sovereign in its own domain, and it conflicts with what it cannot assimilate into itself, and is irritated and disordered till it has expelled it.' Just as a stake planted in a river bed tells us the direction and strength of the current, or a straw thrown into the air the way the wind is blowing, so too ideas if submitted to the action of the religious life of a people reveal the true nature of that life. Examples abound. S. Ambrose refuses

to hand over a church to the Arians and in the end gets his way thanks to the support given him by the people of Milan, who thus make manifest their Catholic faith. Again, in the sixteenth century the people of Edinburgh proclaim their puritanism, and those of London their Anglicanism, with a publicity and by demonstrations which leave no sort of place for doubt. And in 1833, when the Movement sounded a note which might be called Catholic, how was it received? Let there be nominated ministers, or even bishops, whose orthodoxy is watered or suspect, let the Athanasian Creed be set aside, let baptismal regeneration be left an open question or denied,—not a word is said, not a hand raised; but let a clergyman take it into his head to go up into the pulpit in a surplice, and a general clamour arises, an agitation is got up, there is a revolt, a riot. And this simple fact, typical of many, is sufficient to prove that the National Church is not and has no wish to be Catholic. The only way to act on her, as for Archimedes to lift the world, is to get outside her. 'To aim, then, at making the nation Catholic by means of the Church of England, was something like evangelizing Turkey by means of Islamism; and as the Turks would feel serious resentment at hearing the Gospel in the mouths of their Muftis and Mollas, so was, and is, the English nation provoked, not persuaded, by Catholic preaching in the Establishment.'

Foreign to the National Church by its nature, the Movement is the same in its origin. Such is the reply to a very specious objection: 'The National

Church is the Church of your baptism, and therefore to leave it is to abandon your mother.' It was an undeniable fact that a good number of pious Anglicans had found and were finding in their Church light, strength, consolation, especially since, under the influence of the Movement, their religious life had become deeper and more rich. Whatever might be their exterior and theoretical difficulties, they possessed an interior and practical point of support, which was also the bond between their Church and themselves, the feeling that she must be divine in herself, if she produced in them divine effects. Newman has no desire to shirk the objection. He had the less difficulty in understanding it, since he had himself, so to speak, lived it ; and, to prove this point, he quotes copiously from the sermons of his Anglican days ; but, at the same time, he insists upon the doubt which is clearly expressed in them, whether, in fact, there was any real ' connexion between the National Church and the spiritual gifts which he recognized in his party.' As to these gifts and graces which might appear to some as a recommendation of their Church and a reason for remaining faithful to her, Newman admits them ; ' He has no wish, and as a Catholic has no anxiety, to deny them,' the less since he knew them from an experience which he recalls with emotion, and because he finds their explanation in the teaching of the Catholic Church.

This teaching is summed up in two principles : the universality of grace and its manner of refreshment, *ex opere operantis.* One may have grace and

in the end not be saved ; one may have it without belonging to the true Church. In which case it is very clear that this grace and the exterior effects which result from it cannot derive from the false Church of which one is a member, or from anything connected with it, *ex opere operato ;* but only from good dispositions and personal efforts, *ex opere operantis*. This distinction is the more readily applicable since the adherents of the Movement had a real merit, which God had doubtless been willing to reward, in professing doctrines and practising observances difficult in themselves and, moreover, unpopular. Newman however does not content himself with these two general arguments, deduced though they are from classical principles, and in no sense invented for the needs of the case. He appeals to a concrete proof, and, so to put it, *ad hominem*. Do not thorough going Anglicans look on Wesley as a rebel and a heretic, and on Methodism as a sect ? And yet, ' if you wish to find the shadow and the suggestion of the supernatural qualities which make up the notion of a Catholic Saint, to Wesley you must go, and such as him,' for in him we find something of that heroism which in Anglicans ' is not in the line of their excellence.' And how many others, with the religious ideas of the most varied, do not testify, especially at the hour of death, to sentiments of absolute confidence in God and in their own belief ? Newman quotes several striking examples, especially the last, a death, to all appearances edifying and encouraging, and he who thus died was, at that very moment, ' a professed

infidel, and worse than an infidel—an apostate priest ! '

Explain these facts how you will, one thing is clear : the argument proves nothing because it proves too much. ' It is quite impossible for us to conclude, with any fairness of argument, that a certain opinion is true, or a religious position safe, simply on account of the confidence or apparent excellence of those who adopt it.' And if this thought is disconcerting and saddening, so much the better, for at the same time it shakes a confidence which is unjustified and dangerous, a tranquillity which ' may be the stillness of death ; ' and makes men cast envious glances towards the Catholic Church, whose children ' alone have within them that union of external with internal notes of God's favour which sheds the light of conviction over their souls, and makes them both fearless in their faith, and calm and thankful in their hope.'

The movement of 1833 is, as its very name implies, moving ; but whither ? The Anglo-Catholic party must have a place and an end in the designs of Divine Providence who ' has excited aspirations, matured good thoughts, and prospered pious undertakings arising out of them : not for nothing surely—then for what ? Wherefore ? ' Above and beyond all personal ideas and measures, there had been a getting together, there had been the Movement with its principles and of course the direction and aim dictated by those very principles. But among these one may be regarded as primary, namely ' ecclesiastical liberty' as opposed to what is called

'in ecclesiastical language, the heresy of Erastus, and in political, the Royal Supremacy.' To this principle everything else is subordinate, for everything else depends on it: dogmas, sacraments, religious perfection. It is independence which must save the Church and everything of which she is the depository and the guardian. This was what Froude and the writers of the earlier tracts kept repeating: recourse to Antiquity, insistence on the Apostolic Succession, exaltation of the episcopate, these were so many attacks on the State religion, so many elements of the true idea of the Church.

The promoters of these views understood the nature of the Catholic Church better than they did that of the Anglican Church, particularly in its essential characters of an Establishment, of a State Church, of a Church which was servile and wished to remain so. And so there came about this unexpected and somewhat comic result: the Movement calling itself the best friend of the Established Church, and aspiring to free it by enfranchizing it; the Established Church seeing in the Movement an enemy, in its pretentions an ill turn, and generally in all else, 'in every breath, every sigh, every aspiration, every effort of the Movement, an affront or an offence to the Establishment.' To the ideal Church, emancipated from the State, such as the renovators painted, they replied by acts which were the very opposite; the consecration by the Primate of a bishop accused of heresy, the nomination by the Queen of a bishop for Australia; to the dogmatic declarations of the tracts the bishops replied by

antidogmatic pronouncements ; the Reformation and the reformers attacked by the former were defended by the latter ; they began to call one another names which were hardly flattering, proving by their virulence the antagonism between the Movement and the Establishment. No sympathy, no alliance was possible between them. The former can do nothing for the latter ; ' it cannot strengthen it, it cannot serve it, it cannot obey it. The party may be dissolved, the movement may die —that is another matter ; but it and its idea cannot live, cannot energize, in the National Church. . . . *Delenda est Carthago ;* one or other must perish.'

But might it not be possible to stay in the Established Church and yet remain faithful to the principles of the movement ? Might one not even be doing a certain good, with the hope of a better future ? Newman knows this illusion, and dissipates it. He knows how it will be—' a course as undignified as it will be ineffectual.' And he goes on to describe with humour all the little schemings, the meetings, intrigues, praise and flattery from the journals favourable to the cause, criticism and abuse from those hostile to it, and all leading to nothing, any more now than they had in the past, for similar attempts at reform are neither novel nor encouraging. He knows too the hesitation felt at the prospect of a rupture ; to leave the Established Church to which one is bound by so many ties—and for what ? Have the ideas and principles of the Movement the strength to break these ties ? Moreover what is there to prevent one from profess-

ing them, applying them, living by them, while being and continuing a faithful Anglican—and even a Minister? To these false reasoners Newman can only reply, that they have already turned their backs on, and in their hearts abandoned the principles to which they still give lip-service. To those others who wish to remain faithful to their convictions, and to follow them, who were conscious that they 'can have no trust in the Establishment, or its sacraments and ordinances,' to these Newman says: 'You must leave it, you must secede; you must turn your back upon, you must renounce, what has—not suddenly become, but has now been proved to you to have ever been—an imposture.' And he repeats his question: 'To whom shall you go?'

The Roman Catholic Church is not, apparently at least, the necessary and sole answer. Between her and the Anglican Church we may imagine intermediate positions. And first, might not the Movement become a party? By remaining within the Anglican communion, the difficulties to be faced in leaving it would at once vanish. It would remain with the status of a group organized and, therefore, capable of living, of acting, and of growth. Moreover, the comprehensive principles and tolerant attitude of the Established Church would not lend themselves to any sort of opposition to it; the existence of parties is wholly natural, once the principle of private judgment is recognized. The Movement was a party yesterday, why should it not so remain, only with more publicity and cohesion?

The answer is very simple. Because this would be giving the Movement a limit absolutely opposed to its whole history. Its primary object was that ' of maintaining ecclesiastical authority, as opposed to the Erastianism of the State ; ' it asserted ' submission to a definite existing authority,' which should be the Book of Common Prayer and the voice of the Bishops, not indeed left to themselves, but supported by a *corpus* of Anglican theology drawn from authors not chosen on the grounds of individual preference, but accepted by the whole body of opinion, and themselves bearing the sanction of the Fathers, on whose teaching their own was based. These views had a practical result in the publication of catenas of Anglican authorities, and in the translations of the Fathers without explanatory notes or commentaries. But then something curious and unexpected happened ; the solid ground which they had thought to have landed on turned out to be a floating island, shifting and uninhabitable. The Fathers were, in fact, favourable to Rome and opposed to any separation from Rome. But the Anglican Church, and particularly in the nineteenth century, bishops and laity alike, took very little stock of that primitive Christianity, which they wished to give it as a foundation. And so the Movement, which was standing out against Romanism, found itself rejected by Anglicanism, and was reduced to being a mere party, a handful of men, ' no longer Anglo-Catholics, but Patristico—Protestants. . . who from living, as they said, in the atmosphere of Antiquity, came forth into the

open day with a new edition of the Catholic faith,' doing over again what all the heretics had done before them, what Jansenius had done, what Cranmer; retaining this, rejecting that, guided in their choice solely by their own personal judgment, which far from being in harmony with the principles of the Movement, was a flagrant violation and an absolute contradiction of them.

. . . . . .

It is then a fact, well and duly proven, that the Movement, if true to its principles, 'looks away from the Establishment, that "Let us go hence" is its motto.' But, once again, whither? Newman closes a second way out on his hearers by giving them this forcible piece of advice: 'While you are looking about for a new Communion, have nothing to do with a "Branch Church" . . . You know very well what they are. . . . It is not worth while leaving one branch for another.' A branch Church, that is to say one separated from the trunk, is in correspondence with a theory according to which the universal Church—they prefer not to use the word Catholic—or the assemblage of all Christians who appeal to an Apostolic Succession, is formed, as it were, of several different and independent branches, which may even be antipathetic or actively hostile to one another. One multiplies the true Church in order to be able to apply this title to his own Church. To rally to a Branch Church other than the Anglican is a possible way out, at any rate in theory, for the followers of the Movement, and Newman puts them on their guard

by this simple argument : Branch Church is synonymous with National Church, that is to say, Erastian or State Church, with all the concomitant defects already indicated. It is this synonymity which he now sets out to prove. Church and State are two powers, real and sovereign, perfectly distinct the one from the other, but having a common field of action, and jurisdiction over the same men and things ; equally noble by reason of their divine origin, but directed towards different ends ; and while their general principles are coincident, their application and their particular consequences do not necessarily coincide, ' just as the good of the soul is not always the good of the body.' Hence ' continual collision, or chance of collision, between the State and the Church,' and the question presents itself : how shall the Church, which is unarmed, be able to carry out her divine mission in spite of the State which holds the sword ? A new question introduced by Our Lord Himself when He founded His Kingdom distinct and different from the kingdoms of the world ; an ever recurring question, seeing that ' the State has ever been jealous of her, and has persecuted her from without and bribed her from within.' Unquestionably the Church is a friend to the State and does a great deal for it, but the State prefers to act alone, it hates this duality of powers, this sharing of them with what it calls a foreign government, which, in the last resort, occupies a higher place in public opinion than it does.

To fight against ' this proud and ambitious world ' God has given to His Church a strength

which resides in the fact that she is Catholic, that is to say universal. Her members are scattered over the whole universe, but they are knit together by ties the one to the other ; she moves with the deliberation imposed on her by the multiplicity of her interests and by the difficulties of communication, and her movements are often the work of many co-ordinated agencies ; she is complex and is composed of diversified but sympathetic groups ; she is without material means of defence, and is apparently open to easy defeat at some point in her territory or in some of her members ; her centre is one, and, from this very circumstance, is sheltered against the secular powers, as it is, too, by reason of its venerable antiquity and its aureole of sanctity ; lastly she has the charge of souls and is, as she needs must be, charitable, patient, slow to take harsh measures, anxious of the consequences which these might have. Such then is the Church, and ' though her course is consistent, determinate and simple, when viewed in history, yet to those who accompany the stages of its evolution from day to day as they occur, it is confused and disappointing.'

Quite other is the State, in its spirit and in its action decisive, precise, and brutal as the army which is its strength. And behold, it goes forth to war, but with what ? ' With the air, with the wind . . . the air gives way, and it returns again ; it exerts a gentle but constant pressure on every side ; moreover, it is of vital necessity to the very power which is attacking it.' Some few old men with red hats, some shy seminarists to whom the

State takes exception are replaced by others ; and if it be the Pope himself, let the mists clear away which enshroud the conflict and you shall see that ' the old man is found in his own place, as before, saying Mass over the tomb of the Apostles.' The world attributes this triumph of the weak to political wiles ; but, in truth, it is only due to the catholicity of the Church. Newman finds a splendid example of this in the religious history of England. The dispute between S. Thomas à Becket and King Henry II dragged on for seven years. The Pope, the King of France, the Emperor, are all drawn into it ; cardinals, bishops, a commission, study it ; the aspect of the affair changes frequently ; at the end S. Thomas returns to Canterbury and wins the day by his very martyrdom. Suppose the impossible, that the Church in England had been a Branch Church ; she would have been, humanly speaking, rent in pieces in her direct collision with the civil power ; or else we should have seen its saints got rid of, Erastianizing bishops made its masters, and ultimately its dogma corrupted and the times of Henry VIII anticipated. Such would have been the issue but for her intercommunion with the rest of Christendom, and the Supremacy of Rome.

The history of the Church is full of analogous cases ; they were frequent under the Eastern Emperors ; and it is to be noted that the ' few instances [of vacillation] which are brought in controversy, as derogatory to the constancy of the Roman See ' are due precisely to ' the imme-

diate and direct pressure of the temporal power.' The same truth is brought out in modern times, in England in the whole course of the centuries, and particularly in the primacy of Cranmer ; in France in connexion with Gallicanism ; in Austria in the case of Josephism ; and what was the conduct of the Czar towards the United Greeks, and that of the English government towards the Church in Ireland ? ' The strength of the assailed party lies in its fidelity to the rest of Christendom and to the Holy See.' Without this it is the bond slave of the State. ' Truly is it then called a Branch Church ; for as a branch cannot live of itself, therefore, as soon as it is lopped off from the Body of Christ, it is straightway grafted of sheer necessity upon the civil constitution, if it is to preserve life of any kind.' A Church within the State be in conflict with the State ! The latter is much too strong, and above all too clever. Violence if it be necessary, yes ; but better are promises, compromise, alliances. For the State is well aware that a domestic Church can be very useful to her by teaching the people the virtues which make for good citizenship ; the priests will be a moral police ; the bishops officers of a State religion; but above and beyond everything else, all will be officials subordinate to the Minister of Public Worship.

To show that he is not exaggerating, Newman quotes at length from a recognized Anglican authority, Bishop Warburton, who does not hesitate to assert that the function of the Church is to serve the State, and that she is only true to her mission

when she stays within the bounds laid down by the civil power. If then his hearers are faithful to the first principle of the Movement and profess ' that the Church should have absolute power over her faith, worship, and teaching,' they must give up the idea ' of an ecclesiastical body, local and isolated, or what they have been accustomed to call a Branch Church.' So now we have yet another way out closed. There still remains one more, beyond that which leads to Rome ; it is that which leads to that wretched expedient ' of founding a Sect, or as it is sometimes familiarly called, setting up for one's self.' And Newman goes on to show that, ' bad as it is for a man to take the State for his guide and master in religion, or to become an Erastian, it is worse still to become a Sectarian, that is, to be his own Doctor and his own Pope.'

The civil power is a divine ordinance, it is prior in history to ecclesiastical power ; the Jewish Church was not a body distinct from the State. In a certain sense we may say that it is *in possession*, since it is sanctioned by the benefits it confers and also by Scripture. ' Such is the civil power, the representative, and oracle, and instrument of the eternal law of God, with the power of life and death. . . . And as it is sacred in its origin . . . treason against it is in some sort rebellion against the Most High.' A man should, therefore, think twice before founding a rival society which shall embarrass and perhaps endanger the State. God Himself does not act otherwise. If He makes any modification or innovation, it is always with a

higher end in view. Christianity supplanted Judaism because its teaching was more perfect, and required a more perfect organ for its promulgation. To the Church was transferred a portion of that authority which hitherto had centred in the State, and independence was bestowed upon it, and this, again, because it had to be. 'Either no Church has been set up in the world, or it is not set up for nothing; it must have a mission and a message of its own. . . . I repeat, unless the Church has something to say and something to do, very different from what the State says and does, Erastianism is the doctrine of common sense.'

It is this which certain Anglicans lose sight of who feel deeply and paint in strong colours the humiliations of a Church which is bound and subject to the State. They would have her free and independent. But why? Newman asks them. You keep saying that she is a kingdom of heaven, that she is not of this world. What then is the heavenly work assigned to the Church which the world cannot do? And they are hard put to it to find an answer; for they themselves, with their liberalism or rather latitudinarianism, seem to be doing their best to take away from the Church the one thing which could give her a reason for existence as an independent power, mistress in her own house. And yet she must needs have a *raison d'être*. Consider the State, behold the sovereign who is its representative; why this pomp, this array, this etiquette, if it be not that 'in him is centred the order, the security, the happiness of a

great people? . . . And, in like manner, the Church must be the guardian of a fact ; she must have something to produce ; she must have something to do. . . . In other words, she must have a dogma and sacraments,' the instruments and necessary instruments of the spiritual graces which she promises. It is this great reality which gives a sense to all the rites of the Church, a sense to her mission and to her activities, to her pretentions and to her claims ; and it is a reality, something of which the Church is constantly, absolutely, divinely sure.

Newman now turns to those of his hearers whom he has not forgotten any more than he has the point which he had undertaken to prove ; and he states their own opinions with the most piquant humour, in every sense of the word : ' We do not aim at forming a Branch Church . . . we have no ambition, no expectation . . . we do but mean to preserve for future times what we hold to be the truth . . . Catholic doctrine in its purest and most primitive form. . . . We are willing to look like a small sect at the gate of the National Church, when really we are the heirs of the Apostles.' Very well, he adds, ' You are so far right that you at least profess to have something to transmit, but,' and this is the decisive question, ' be you sure withal that you have it, and know what it is.' He knows by experience, and indeed it is obvious, that this is far from being the case. ' I say, then, do not set up a sect, till you are quite sure what is to be its creed.' And he recalls the history of the Non-

Jurors, a former sect which endured scarce twenty years, hardly formed but it began to dissolve, and simply because 'it had no sufficient object, represented no idea, and proclaimed no dogma;' and also because those very bishops and clergymen drew their strength from the Established Church, and once they were cast off by her they collapsed. A double lesson, which his hearers might profitably apply to themselves. They still have within them the life which they draw from their Church, and they take it for a life personal to them; but if they are seriously thinking of becoming a little Church to themselves, let them keep well in mind what is necessary to their plan. 'When, at length, you have one and all agreed upon your creed, and developed it doctrinally, morally, and polemically, then find for it some safe foundation, deeper and firmer than private judgment, which may assure its transmission and continuance to generations to come. And, when you have done all this, then, last of all, persuade others and yourselves, that the foundation you have formed is surer and more trustworthy than that of Erastianism, on the one hand, and of immemorial and uninterrupted tradition, that is, of Catholicism, on the other.' To conclude; it is between these two that the choice must be made; and since everything detaches them from the Establishment, let them attach themselves to the Church of Rome, despite the objections, more apparent than real, which may be urged against her, and which Newman now proceeds to elucidate and resolve.

II

If the Church of Rome is genuine, she must possess the marks and *notes* of the true Church : she must be One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic. Is she ?

' The social state of Catholic countries is no prejudice to the sanctity of the Church.' Newman allows the implied objection, and does not inquire, whether there was less of justice than of contempt in the way an Englishman of 1850 could regard France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. But he has his answer ready, the more so since, as he takes care to observe, he had already given it before he became a Catholic. What is the true end of the Church ? ' What fruit is the Church right in anticipating as the result of her ministerial labours ? S. Paul gives us a reason. . . . He laboured more than all the Apostles. And why ? Not to civilize the world, not to smooth the face of society, not to facilitate the movements of civil government, not to spread abroad knowledge, not to cultivate the reason, not for any great worldly object, but " for the elect's sake " . . . . And such is the office of the Church in every nation where she sojourns ; she attempts much ; she expects and promises little.' It would, however, be equally unjust whether to foget that she does more than she promises and the temporal blessings of which she is the means, or to judge her solely by them.

Another consideration, and again not devised to meet the needs of the case, but old as Christianity itself, is the following : ' The Church . . . is in

warfare ; her life here below is one long battle. But with whom ? ' We have here to contrast the opinions of the world. The world regards its own ends as the greatest of goods. Hell, the devil, the flesh, with these it has no concern. Evil is merely that which is an offence to it. The only individuality which it acknowledges or has any interest in, is its own, and to it the individual is sacrificed. The Church on the other hand, troubles herself about individuals ; she fathoms the intentions, she looks into the hidden realities, she believes in the devil. ' Her proper battlefield is the heart of the individual, and her true foe is Satan.' To souls she subordinates everything, for them everything is sacrificed. ' It is this supernatural sight and supernatural aim, which is the folly and the feebleness of the Church in the eyes of the world, and would be failure but for the providence of God. The Church overlooks everything in comparison of the immortal soul.' The only true evil is sin ; the only true good is grace ; the one and only aim is to purify the heart. And if in moral theology there are ' principles hard to digest, explanations which seem to you subtle, details which distress you ; you will find abundance of what will make excellent matter of attack at Exeter Hall ; but you will find from first to last this one idea . . . that sin is the enemy of the soul, and that sin especially consists, not in overt acts, but in the thoughts of the heart. . . . The Church aims, not at making a show, but at doing a work . . . to do good to souls.' It is this or nothing.

These principles overcome the objection, whatever, moreover, may be its real bearing, which could only have any force ' if Catholicism professed, or ought to have professed, directly to promote mere civilization,' and which falls flat, on the other hand, if Catholicism ' has a work of its own, and this work is, first, *different* from that of the world ; next, *difficult of attainment*, compared with that of the world ; and, lastly, *secret* from the world in its details and consequences . . . Not till the State is blamed for not making saints, may it fairly be laid to the fault of the Church that she cannot invent a steam-engine or construct a tariff.' Newman cannot, it seems, insist too strongly on this point, and passing from speculative considerations to practical ones, he develops the following theme : ' The one object of the Church, to which every other object is second, is that of reconciling the soul to God.'

Human nature is the same everywhere ; however men may differ in other respects, they have one tendency in common, as being 'in a state of continual lapse from the Centre of sanctity and love.' Year after year, day after day, the Church is ever raising them, fishing them up, and ' keeping them afloat, as she best may, on the surface of that stream, which is carrying them down to eternity.' She judges of sins and their gravity solely in their relation to God. And if in this she differs from the world, she differs also in the virtues which she preaches, and in three in particular : faith, purity, and charity. She insists on these supernatural

virtues, and she values less their exterior results than the interior principle, the intention, which inspires them ; she believes that the soul may be lost or redeemed as the result of a single deliberate act ; she shows herself as strict and at the same time as merciful as the world asserts itself to be liberal and at the same time implacable. Newman candidly sets out the guiding principles of the Church. 'The Church professes to judge after the judgment of the Almighty ; and it cannot be imprudent or impolitical to bring this out clearly and boldly.' On the other hand, the system, principles, and proceedings of the world which is so ready to criticize and despise the Church, how 'cold, cruel, selfish' they are, how utterly callous to physical and especially to moral suffering ! What does it do for the poor, for prisoners, for criminals ? Compare the case of two men condemned to death, the one in the hands of the State, the other in the hands of the Church : the first steeled in his rancour and obduracy, facing a mob which is animated solely by a morbid and ghoulish curiosity ; the second, as happens any day in the Rome of the Popes, attended by members of the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, helped by the faithful who pray before the Blessed Sacrament exposed for the occasion, while the whole crowd is stirred by but one thought, wholly charitable, wholly divine : Has he repented ? Has he made his Confession ? Is he prepared ?

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Newman has not exhausted his subject, but he

has said enough. The objection to be met could only have any force if we admitted the false principle, ' that the standard of civil prosperity and political aggrandisement is the truest test of grace and the largest measure of salvation.' The Church has her own proper work, and she does it ; but, let us repeat, from the very nature of this work, ' the peculiarity, and the arduousness, and the secrecy of the mission entrusted to the Church, it comes to pass that the world is led, at particular periods, to think very slightly of the Church's influence on society, and vastly to prefer its own methods and its own achievements.' The answer, however, is not final, and a new, stronger, and more direct objection is raised : ' The reproach of Catholicism is, not what it does not do, so much as what it does ; ' and precisely in the religious fields, ' its teaching and its training do produce a certain very definite character on a nation and on individuals ; and that character, so far from being too religious or too spiritual, is just the reverse, very like the world's ; ' a mixture of profaneness and superstition ; shallownesses, indelicacies, rudenesses, jocosities; a routine so fixed, so general, so inground, that, in spite of our conviction that there is a Catholic Church, and that her centre is Rome, it is our duty not to join her.

Newman accepts the reproach which has just been formulated, with the facts on which it is based only adding that these equally imply a law, in so far as they reveal ' the very phenomenon which must necessarily result from a revelation of divine truth

falling upon the human mind in its existing state of ignorance and moral fickleness.' Protestants are astonished because they hold protestant ideas ; to them faith is not a vision, but a state of the soul, implying at the same time an experience, love, and obedience. If it is not all this, it is no longer faith, but only a caricature of faith. For Catholics, faith and love, faith and works, are separable, and are often separated. ' Faith . . . is a certainty of things not seen but revealed . . . caused directly by a supernatural influence . . . perfectly distinct in its own nature from the desire, intuition, and power of acting agreeably to it.' Human nature tends of itself to irreligion and sin, and this tendency leaps to the eye if we consider a multitude of men, a whole people, even though baptized. But in a Catholic people, and in keeping with Catholic teaching, when the other virtues have disappeared, faith yet remains, at any rate in the majority of cases. And so we arrive at this sort of paradox, that men may ' have a vivid perception, like sense, of things unseen, yet have no desire at all, or affection, towards them ; they have knowledge without love.' As in every multitude, all conceivable varieties are met with from the double point of view of psychology and religion, 'but, in spite of this moral confusion, in one and all a clear intellectual apprehension of the truth.' Heaven and hell, Christ and Satan, Grace and the Sacraments, in a word all holy things, ' are of the nature of *facts*, which all men, good and bad, young and old, rich and poor, take for granted.'

In a Protestant country, where everything is a matter of opinion, if one becomes embarrassing, the temptation will be to change it. In a Catholic country, it would never enter the head of even a bad Catholic to deny what to him was a fact, ' but he will turn the truth to his purpose, his bad purpose.' Thus we find religion brought into acts and scenes where one would scarcely expect it ; thus we find persons who are at once vicious and religious ; for ' vice does not involve a neglect of the external duties of religion.' This is an explanation of the frequent use, sometimes abuse, of the name of God, of the saints, of the devil, in familiar conversation and current expressions ; stories and jokes in which sacred persons and things are not always treated with the reverence due to them ; the retailers of miracles of doubtful authenticity, and the traffic in relics of more than doubtful origin ; tragi-comical plays in which the divine is found allied to much that is human. ' In these and a thousand other ways it may be shown that the special character of a Catholic country . . . that mixture of seriousness and levity, that familiar handling of sacred things in word and deed, by good and bad, that publication of religious thoughts and practices, so far as it is found, is the necessary consequence of its being Catholic.' It is the consequence of mixed multitudes all having faith . . . The truths of religion stand in the place of facts, and the faith of the individual is sustained by the faith of all.

Faith and love are, then, separable, and it is truly a merciful Providence who has so willed it.

Love may dwindle and die, but faith remains as a seed of new flowerings ; and a Catholic has this inestimable advantage during his life, and especially at the hour of his death. He has perhaps neglected, spoken lightly of, or offended God, holy persons and things, but he has ever believed in Him ; and so ' his thoughts at once take shape and order ; they mount up, each in its due place, to the great Objects of faith, which are as surely in his mind as they are in heaven.' Jesus, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, the angels, these he sees, to them he prays. ' True, he is going into the unseen world ; but true also, that that unseen world has already been with him here. . . . And thus, even one who has been a bad Catholic may have a hope in his death, to which the most virtuous of Protestants . . . if he has lived not by faith but by private judgment, is necessarily a stranger.'

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When Catholics reproach Protestants with their variations, the latter reply by reproaching Catholics for their divisions, with the implication that neither of them, or rather not one more than the other can lay claim to unity, the note of the true Church. Newman declares the objection to be futile and of no interest, but he feels it incumbent on him to answer it, almost apologizing for doing so, because it is put forward, and at times with the air of having scored a point. He takes the form and detail of the objection from two Anglican writers who certainly have done their best to bring into relief the fact ' that differences of religious opinion and that

party discussions are found within the Catholic Church.' Then he proposes his answer.

A first principle to grasp is ' that the very idea of the Catholic Church, as an instrument of supernatural grace, is that of an instrument which innovates upon, or rather superadds to nature. She does something for nature, above or beyond nature. When, then, it is said that she makes her members one, this implies that by nature they are not one, and would not become one. . . . Left to himself, each Catholic likes and would maintain his own opinion and his private judgment, just as much as a Protestant ; and he has it, and he maintains it, just so far as the Church does not, by the authority of Revelation, supersede it.' The impulse of each mind, from the fact that it is human, and except so far as grace has subdued it, is to rebel against the authority of the Church, not when this is formally expressed, but yet at times when it is indicated with sufficient clearness. Another source of division within the Church, which may be alleged against its unity, arises from the differences and rivalries between Catholic nations. It is true that we may very well find here a proof, if not of her unity, at any rate of her uniting power. ' She fights the battle of unity against nationality, and she wins.'

' Look through her history, and you cannot deny but she is the one great principle of unity and concord ' to be seen in the world at the time of the barbarian invasions or in the feudal age ; and the resemblance is nothing less than striking between modern Naples and medieval England, between

persecuted Ireland and the Church of the Catacombs. Viewed beside this the jealousies or quarrels between rival interests or schools can scarcely be considered a serious objection, especially since it is very clear that these same parties, though they be in strife among themselves, are all brothers in arms against the common enemy and for their common faith, foster-brothers at the breast of one common Mother. Her very quarrels are but a proof the more of her unifying power and of her robust vitality.

And now we come to the primary question which Newman puts to his hearers, as they put it to themselves : ' What must I *do* to be saved ? and who is to *teach* me ? ' Clearly not the National Church because of its doctrinal discordances. Shall it be the Church of Rome ? They object to its divisions. But are they doctrinal, that is to say affecting matters of faith ? The answer is obviously in the negative. Rival schools of theology declare that the questions in dispute are outside the faith which they all profess ; their differences on certain points do but bring out clearer their fundamental agreement on what is the teaching of the Church. ' The doctrines of the faith are the common basis of the combatants, the ground on which they contend, their ultimate authority, and their arbitrating rule.' If, driven to bay, the opponents of the Church abandon the present for the past and assert that at certain epochs she has suffered from divisions as serious as those with which they themselves are reproached, they ' commit the imprudence of

choosing for their attack the very point in which she is strong.' As truth is tried by error, virtue by temptation, courage by opposition, so too are individuality and life by troubles and disorders; their trial is their proof. 'As external enemies do not prove a state to be weak till they prevail over it, so rebellions from within may but prove its strength, if they are smitten down and extinguished.' The troubles within the Church have had this mission assigned to them by Providence, to teach us the lesson, that 'the Church, a living body, when she becomes the seat of a malady or disorder, tends from the first to its eradication, which is but a matter of time.'

Newman gives a couple of examples of this in two great historical pictures. In the first he depicts the heresies concerning the Incarnation, which over a period of close on five centuries, sprang up, many of them almost simultaneously, others successively, all more or less different, but having this characteristic in common of being opposed to the true faith. It is impossible to follow patiently the unfolding of this epic conflict, 'without being intimately convinced of the oneness or identity of the minds, which lived in the Catholic Church through that long period; which baffled the artifices and sophistries of the subtlest intellects, was proof against human infirmity and secular expedience, and succeeded in establishing irrevocably and for ever those points of faith with which she started in the contest.' Decisions of authority were never long in coming; each one was a victory. 'The heresy

was all along in visible course of expulsion from the Catholic fold.' You will seek in vain for anything analogous to this in the Anglican Church. In his second picture he paints a less important heresy, one less wide spread, of less duration, but perhaps of greater interest, since it is of yesterday, namely, Jansenism. We know what its fate was, first in France, its followers 'admirable in every point, save in the primary grace of a creature, humility,' its spread, its repeated subterfuges, its protectors: bishops, Parliament, and the universities; then in Austria, where it becomes, in the hands of Joseph II, the principle which is made to excuse the most arbitrary and tyrannical measures taken to gain over the Low Countries, Tuscany, Naples, and Portugal, and this at the very hour when the great champion of the faith, the Society of Jesus, had just been dissolved. Who is there to make head against it? But now we hear the rushing noise which presages the storm, and on its heels the raging tempest itself. 'Now shall we see what can live and what must die. . . . The Church disappeared before its eyes as by a yawning earthquake. . . . Fifty years have passed away . . . the Gallican Church, with its much-prized liberties, and its fostered heresy, was also swept away. . . . Jansenism is no more; the Church lives, the Apostolic See rules,' the latter with more power, the former with a wider liberty than ever; and never was the whole body of the faithful so united to each other and to its head.

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To the note of Catholicity claimed by the Church

of Rome an objection is raised which, though imposing to the imagination, is less tenable in the judgment of reason. Two centuries ago it was formulated by our opponents in a very artless shape : they lumped together all Protestant sects, even the most recent, to these they added the Greek schismatics, and triumphantly exclaimed : Look at both sides and compare them ; look at the Roman Church, what a little figure she cuts, and she calls herself Catholic ! To-day they have come back to less fantastic views ; the problem is reduced to that of the Anglican and Greek Churches, and, setting aside the former as being a party in the controversy, is stated in these terms : To declare the Greek Church with its millions of adherents to be outside the Church, is at one blow to deny to the latter the note of Catholicity and to commit a frightful cruelty on the multitudes who, in perfectly good faith, believe themselves to be members of it. Newman regards and treats this problem as an objection ; that is to say, assuming that the Catholicity of the Church of Rome is otherwise proved, he aims to show that the phenomenon in question is capable of explanation.

At the outset it must be observed that the phenomenon is but one instance of a great and broad fact, that open contradiction is not the only enemy of truth, nor is it always the most dangerous ; another enemy is the counterfeit, the false disguised under the appearance of the true ; false gods, false prophets, false religions, false Christs ; Islam at its beginning, with its halo of an Apostolate, of pro-

gress, and of success; Judaism, the customary depositary of Revelation. In short, 'looking at the world as it is, taking facts as they are, you cannot rid yourselves of those difficulties in the evidence of religion, which arise from the existence of bold, plausible, imposing counter-claims on the part of error.' And within the Church herself how many sects there have been, born within the Church herself, and claiming to be the Church; some, like the Novatians and the Gnostics, considering their diffusion, 'might almost have disputed with the See of S. Peter the prerogative of Catholicity;' others, like Arianism, grip hold of a whole race and of the peoples conquered by it. They lay stress on 'the venerable antiquity and the authoritative traditions of the Greek Church, which is coeval with the Apostles, and for near a thousand years has been in its present theological position, and which, since its separation from the Holy See, has been able, as is alleged, to expand itself in a vast heathen country.' But all these facts, admitting them to be this, may be found, and perhaps in an even more striking form, in the history of the Nestorians, 'a schismatical communion, the most wonderful that the world has seen.' And as it is most certain that their heresy places them outside the Church, the conclusion is quite simply this, 'that large, organized, flourishing, imposing communions, which strike the imagination as necessary portions of the heritage of Christ, may, nevertheless, in fact be implicated in some heresy, which, in the judgment of reason, invalidates their claim.'

In truth the root of the question lies deeper and reposes in the very constitution of the human mind, which is just as capable of half-beliefs as it is of an absolute denial of revealed truth. If belief is a duty imposed upon the will, we must expect cases of resistance and rebellion, not only on the part of isolated individuals, ' but, much more, of the powerful and the great, the wealthy and the flourishing, kings and states, cities and races, falling back upon their own resources, and their own connexions, making their home their castle, and refusing any longer to be dependent on a distant centre, or to regulate their internal affairs by a foreign tribunal.' The problem is then solved by a collective refusal of obedience to the Roman See, whose legitimate authority is supposed to be admitted ; and unfortunately there is in this nothing but what is only too human and even inevitable. For the objection to hold good, it would be necessary to prove that a prevision of this factor, and the wish to avoid it, may have influenced God in assigning a plan and notes to His Church.

On the other hand, it is difficult to appraise the religious state of populations which are Christian but non-Catholic. ' It is consolatory to reflect how the schism or heresy, which the self-will of a monarch or of a generation has caused, does not suffice altogether to destroy the work for which in some distant age Evangelists have left their homes, and Martyrs have shed their blood.' In proportion as the dogmas and sacraments continue to exist, so will they continue to be sources of light and grace to

souls of simple faith and good will. Invincible ignorance, inveterate prejudices, these are excuses which may be stretched to the profit of vast multitudes. These considerations which are applicable to the Anglican Church and much more to the Greek 'soften the difficulty which is presented to the imagination by the view of such large populations, who, though called Christian, are not Catholic or orthodox in creed.' One class only of persons is capable of inspiring a grave anxiety and at the same time a lively interest. These are they whom the light has touched, yet who seem to shut their eyes to it, or 'who have actually gained a clear view of the nothingness of their own Communion, and the reality and divinity of the Catholic Church, yet delay to act upon their knowledge.' This is the case of many of Newman's hearers; he sets their position clearly before their eyes; shows them how everything has brought them nearer to Rome; and urges them to take that last step which shall lead them into 'the true home of their souls and the valley of peace.' How happy will they then be! and how they will pray that those whom they love may end by sharing in the same happiness! It will be as it were a foretaste of the Resurrection: the reunion of friends in the same vision of the same God.

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Is the Roman Church apostolic? This is the last note and the last difficulty, though little felt by Protestants in general, who are more prone to reproach the Church of the Fathers on the score of its Papistry and intolerance. It is not to be disputed that the

Church to-day differs from that of former days in more than one point ; Protestants who differ from it on all points, even essential ones, ' try to throw dust in the eyes of the world ' by taking the offensive, though this has been repulsed many a time already. Newman proceeds to repulse it once more, not in detail, which is manifestly impossible, but by the same process which he has hitherto employed, that is to say by ' general considerations and by an appeal rather to common sense and truths before our eyes than to theology and history.' More than this, he confines himself to one fact, a personal one, for which he asks the indulgence of his hearers—that of his own conversion. Many other causes doubtless contributed, but if he were asked why he became a Catholic, he could only give one answer : ' Simply because he believed the Catholic Church, and it only, to be the Church of the Fathers; because he believed that there was a Church upon earth till the end of time, and one only ; and because, unless it was the Communion of Rome, and it only, there was none.' He does not wish to propose this truth to anyone as a reason for becoming a Catholic. ' Let everyone have his own reason . . . for reasons are in plenty, and there are enough for you all, and moreover all of them are good ones and consistent with each other.' He only wishes to clear away the difficulties, of which one is the objection that the Church of to-day should have abandoned the teaching of the Church of old. ' I say that the Catholicism of to-day is not likely to be really very different from the Catholicism of Antiquity, if its agreement,

or rather its identity, with Antiquity, forms the very reason on which even one educated and reflecting person was induced, much against every natural inducement, to submit to its claims.'

Newman then relates how at an early age he was brought to know the Fathers and to love them ; how he read them, at first on Protestant ideas and naturally without gaining anything much from them, except 'a vivid perception of the divine institution, the prerogatives, and the gifts of the Episcopate.' The study of the controversies connected with the Person of Our Lord led him to undertake a course of reading, more personal and more thorough. During the summer of 1835 his reading was almost entirely confined to doctrinal subjects, and left him pretty much where he was on the question of the Church ; but, during the summer of 1839, the history of the Monophysite controversy and of the deliberations of the Council of Chalcedon, came as a thunder-bolt, which shook his faith in the fundamental principle of Anglicanism, an impression which was deepened by an article of Wiseman on the schism of the Donatists, as he has narrated at length in the *Apologia*. 'What is it I saw . . . which was so fatal to the pretensions of the Anglican Church? I saw that the general theory and position of Anglicanism was no novelty in ancient history, but had a distinct place in it, and a series of prototypes, and that these prototypes had ever been heretics or the patrons of heresy.' Anglicanism is nothing unless it be a *via media*, a theory of the happy mean ; it is moderate, liberal,

tolerant, comprehensive, and all these characteristics recommend it to the civil power which welcomes it as a docile friend and ally. But this pretension of being distinct both from Catholicism and from Protestantism leads inevitably to its being but a form of the latter, in so far as it is in opposition to the former. It may be Catholic in some secondary traits, but in its essential principle, namely, that the Church has erred, it certainly takes its bearings from Protestantism, all of whose principal doctrines it has adopted.

But the existence of these three parties, and the support given by the State to the middle party, is an old story, it is more than a fact of history, it is almost its rule, at any rate during the long period when relations existed between the Byzantine Court and the Holy See. Rome was then such as it is now ; what Arius, Nestorius, or Eutyches were then, such are Luther and Calvin ; what the Eusebians or Monophysites then, such the Anglicans now ; what the Byzantine Court then, such is the government of England, ' and such would have been many a Catholic Court, had it had its way.' Consequently the only defensive position where Anglicaism could intrench itself was equally favourable to the ancient heresies, while the justification of the Primitive Councils was as cogent an apology for the Council of Trent. This is so true that it is observable in Anglican writers, in their partiality for the ancient heretics, in their criticism of the Primitive Councils. This then is one great reason for Newman's condemnation of Anglicanism. A second,

' clear, strong, and decisive,' is furnished by the schism of the Donatists, to which he has alluded before, but on which he does not enlarge.

And now, ' after drawing out from Antiquity the outlines of the ecclesiastical structure, and its relations to bodies and powers external to it, when we go on, as it were, to colour it with the thousand tints which are to be found in the same ancient records, when we consider the ritual of the Church, the ceremonial of religion, the devotions of private Christians, the opinions generally received, and the popular modes of acting, what do we find but a third and most striking proof of the identity between primitive Christianity and modern Catholicism ? ' But above and beyond all this, for it is that which struck Newman most and completed his conversion, is 'the history of the doctrinal definitions of the Church.' It is undeniable that the Creed, one and the same from the beginning, has been enriched, in the course of the ages, by developments intended to define it, for the preclusion of ignorance and error. This process of doctrinal evolution is neither accidental nor random ; ' it is conducted upon laws . . . and the study of its laws and of its exhibition, or, in other words, the science and history of the formation of theology, was a subject which had interested me more than anything else from the time I first began to read the Fathers.' Newman saw more and more clearly that what Anglicans are pleased to call ' Roman corruptions ' were only instances of that great doctrinal law, ever at work, whether it be in the ever clearer and

more complete recognition of the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, or in that of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. There was here ' not only an answer to objections [against the present teaching of Rome], but a positive argument in its favour ; for the immutability and uninterrupted action of the laws in question throughout the course of Church history is a plain note of identity between the Catholic Church of the first ages and that which now goes by that name ; just as the argument from the analogy of natural and revealed religion is at once an answer to difficulties in the latter, and a direct proof that Christianity has the same Author as the physical and moral world.'

Newman has finished. He apologizes for having spoken so much about himself, but this was inevitable, and he had foreseen that it would have to be so. He has, may be, been severe in his criticism of the partisans of the Movement, of their concerns and pretensions, but he has always been full of respect for the truly Catholic spirit which has ever inspired the Movement and its adherents, that spirit which had made him what he was, and what his hearers one day will surely be. He adjures them to hasten the coming of that day. ' You are born to be Catholics ; refuse not the unmerited grace of your bountiful God ; throw off for good and all the illusions of your intellect, the bondage of your affections, and stand upright in that freedom which is your true inheritance.'

CHAPTER IV

CATHOLICS AND THEIR ENEMIES

THE Church needs but truth, and this is doubtless the reason why her enemies pile up calumnies, multiply insinuations, perpetuate falsehoods, reiterate assertions which have been refuted a hundred times, and keep on circulating fables which have been as often demolished. Protestantism has laboured persistently at this work against truth ; but what is called anti-clericalism is also an able craftsman, so that *mutatis mutandis* what Newman said sixty years ago in a Protestant country may be applied with much truth to a Catholic country to-day.

The position of Catholics in England had improved. One by one, almost all the repressive laws had fallen into disuse or been abolished. Conversions, some of them widely spoken of and having an influence, were multiplying. Catholics were at last holding their heads up and looking hopefully to the future. There was, however, another authority, stronger than the government, which had to be brought round, namely Protestant, that is to say anti-Catholic, public opinion, and

this was the subject of the nine lectures which Newman gave to the (secular) Brothers of the Oratory in the summer of 1851.* 'His object has not been to prove the divine origin of Catholicism, but to remove some of the moral and intellectual impediments which prevent Protestants from acknowledging it. Protestants cannot be expected to do justice to a religion whose professors they hate and scorn.' A direct proof of the truth of the Catholic Faith is, of course, necessary, and should not be difficult to demonstrate, for, to Newman at any rate, the proof is irresistible, and 'Catholicism is almost its own evidence,' but the attempt would be premature, for 'it requires . . . as being a moral proof, a rightly disposed recipient,' and at that time it would be as ineffective as 'building in the aboriginal forest till its trees had been felled.'

How comes it to pass, then, that 'in this intelligent nation, and in this rational nineteenth century, we Catholics are so despised and hated by our own countrymen, with whom we have lived all our lives, that they are prompt to believe any story, however extravagant, that is told to our disadvantage ; as if beyond a doubt we were, every one of us, either brutishly deluded or preternaturally hypocritical, and they, themselves, on the contrary, were in comparison of us absolute specimens of sagacity, wisdom, manly virtue, and enlightened Christianity ?' And the perplexity increases in

* *Lectures on the present Position of Catholics in England.* Longmans, Edition of 1893.

proportion as Catholics are conscious of their personal honesty and purity of intention, as also of the truth, the beauty, and the might of their religion. The answer is suggested by a fable which the good La Fontaine called the lion brought low by man—a picture from one point of view, by one painter, man. Newman draws from it this moral, that every dispute presupposes two sides to it, ' and if you have heard but one of them, you will think nothing at all can be said on the other ; ' you will be listening to the accusation without heeding the defence, which may yet leave it nothing to stand upon. ' Anything will become plausible, if you read all that can be said in its favour, and exclude all that can be said against it.' It is an experimental truth that, if a man shuts himself up in himself, if he does not keep an open, or as it is called to-day an informed mind, he will almost inevitably end by ' despising other men, and other modes of opinion and action, simply because he does not understand them.' This despisal is met with and is as readily explicable between peoples as it is between individuals. They are the more prone to criticize in proportion as they lack that universality of knowledge which is one of the master qualities of the true critic. It is, moreover, a well-known device of writers of fiction to introduce into their compositions personages of very different views and characters, whose opposite comments present a piquant contrast.

We must, therefore, distinguish between the reality and the various views of it. Anyone of the

latter, however plausible, coherent, and accepted it be, may equally be ' a mere illusion, if it has not been duly measured with other views of the same matter. . . . No conclusion is trustworthy which has not been tried by enemy as well as friend.' Comparison is not reason, but it is often a help to it, especially in the case of the true Church as compared with its counterfeits. And it is just this which Protestants will not do. They prefer to take the brush and, keeping to their own school of painting, to depict the Church in the humiliating posture of the lion of the fable, ' always absurd, always imbecile, always malicious, always tyrannical,' and also and precisely, ' ever smashed and pounded, ever dying, ever dead ; and the only wonder is that she has to be killed so often.' There is of course a reason for this despisal and hatred, namely that they close their eyes and stop their ears, that they wish neither to see nor to hear. Happily exceptions may be met with, Protestants less credulous, less self-satisfied, who do not think that loud talk is a proof that right is on one's side, who wish to judge for themselves, and who discover that precisely those facts and doctrines on account of which people cry shame on the Church, are of a nature to earn for her admiration and respect. All of which at least goes to prove ' that those who do not know there *are* two sides of the question . . . are violent because they are ignorant, and that Catholics are treated with scorn and injustice simply because, though they have a good deal to say in their defence, they have never patiently

been heard.' Newman takes three examples: the Church of the middle ages, the Jesuits, and the monks. To justify their pretensions and their very name, the reformers of the sixteenth century had to have something to reform. We know well enough the picture they paint of the Church fallen into the last depths of superstition, the apocalyptic epithets which they bestow on her, the vehement anathemas under which they crush her. But listen to two Protestants, M. Guirot and Dr. Waddington, both worthy of credence, who tell us that in those very times 'the Christian Church was the salvation of Europe . . . the Church was the instrument of Heaven for the preservation of Religion,' not to mention other important services which she rendered in the way of charity, morality, legislation, social relations, prevention of war, literature. 'If there be any set of men in the whole world who are railed against as the pattern of all that is evil, it is the Jesuit body'— of legend. But there are also the Jesuits of history, and for what these are Newman goes to a Spanish priest turned English and Protestant, 'and the most bitter enemy of the faith which he had once professed,' the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, who tells us that at the time of their suppression in Spain, they exercised a supremely beneficent influence, principally on the higher classes of society, and that whatever Pascal and the Jansenists would have us believe concerning the laxity of their moral teaching, their worst enemies have never dared to impeach their practical morality. Monks are another class of

men whom Protestants hold in execration, and whom they regard as ' the very types and emblems of laziness, uselessness, ignorance, stupidity, fanaticism, and profligacy.' But here we have a well-informed historian, one who can by no means be suspected of partiality on the side of Catholicism, Neander, representing them to us in his *Life of S. Chrysostom*, on the contrary, as models of activity, of charity, of hospitality, as the influential agents of religion, of education, and of conversion. Without, then, discussing which of these two points of view is the true one, it is at least clear that there *are* two, and the Protestant public which ignores this fact, is ' for the very reason of its ignorance, first furiously positive that it is right, and next singularly likely to be wrong.'

Before concluding, Newman asks himself what would happen if one tried to apply the same process of blind ignorance and biassed criticism, with results ' similarly frightful and similarly fantastical,' to some institution as great and as excellent in its degree and place as is the Church. He takes the British Constitution, and supposes that as an answer to a movement, which has but little support, to propagate in Moscow British ideas, there is held a great public meeting at which, among other speeches which are at bottom but variants of the fable of the lion brought low by man, they especially applauded that of an old veteran whose harangue, as once his army, seems to spring to the assault. He denounces, he abuses, above all he asserts that he has the documentary proof in his hand, and this

document is Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* Listen to this : ' *The King can do no wrong* . . . is not only incapable of *doing* wrong, but even of *thinking* wrong . . . *in him is no* FOLLY *or* WEAKNESS. . . . [Parliament] may make law, and that which is law it may make no law. . . . Some have not scrupled to call its power the Omnipotence of Parliament . . . the people . . . are led to consider their Sovereign in the light of a Superior Being.' The orator then proceeds to treat the history of England with the same nice care that he has bestowed on her laws, and concludes with a vehement appeal which evokes frantic enthusiasm. John Bull is burnt in effigy—and all go off to bed. Newman protests that he has not caricatured the parallel ; having once been a Protestant he knows what he is speaking about and he maintains that ' no absurdities contained in the above sketch can equal, nay, that no conceivable absurdities can surpass, the absurdities which are firmly believed of Catholics by sensible, kind-hearted, well-intentioned Protestants.' There are none so deaf. . . .

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Catholicism, of such importance by reason of the number of its faithful and the extent of its domain, so imposing in the ideas which it professes and the works of its creation, so remarkable for its continuity with antiquity and its power of adaptation to modern times, ' this broad fact of Catholicism—as real as the Continent of America or the Milky Way—which Englishmen cannot deny, they

will not entertain ; they shut their eyes, they thrust their heads into the sand, and try to get rid of a great vision, a great reality, under the name of Popery.' There are two hundred millions of Catholics, but they and their religion are as little known as if they inhabited the moon. And again, how are we to explain this phenomenon of ignorance in an age of enlightenment ? On the same ground with which men are so fond of taunting Catholics : immemorial and unauthenticated tradition ; liberty of thought is oftenest mere parrot thought : I told it you, you told it me, it has always been said . . . this ' always ' gets lost in the fog.

Newman does not ignore either the nature or the value of tradition properly understood. ' Tradition is of great and legitimate use as an *initial* means of gaining notions about historical and other facts ; it is natural and necessary to trust it ; it is an informant we make use of daily.' But if it is a ground for assent, it is not one for closing one's eyes to the grounds for denial. We must on the contrary open them wide. ' We make use of tradition, but we are not content with it ; it is enough to begin with, not enough to finish upon.' However useful it be and however legitimate and wise to follow it, ' it is *not* sufficient in reason to make us *sure*, much less to make us angry with those who take a different view of the matter. . . . It is not sufficient to warrant us to dispense with proof the other way, if it be offered to us. . . . Thus, a tradition being an anonymous informant, is of force only under the proviso that it cannot be plausibly disputed.'

On the other hand traditions may sometimes converge to one and the same point and will then furnish the very strongest of proof. But if a people is a single whole and acts as such, one may say that its tradition is single and isolated and therefore but of secondary value. The question which presents itself is then this : with few exceptions, and in spite of false pretensions, is it not a fact that Protestants merely follow a tradition? 'Do the people of this country receive their notion of the Catholic Church in the way of argument and examination or . . . does it come to them mainly as a tradition which they have inherited, and which they will not question, though they have in their hands abundant reasons for doubting it?'

There is this difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, that the first establishes itself, the other is established. The first has a strength which is inherent and divine, it suffices for itself, its faithful are there, if it be necessary it raises up martyrs. On the contrary 'Establishment is the very life of Protestantism ; or, in other words, Protestantism comes in upon the nation, Protestantism is maintained, not in the way of reason and truth, not by appeals to facts, but by tradition, and by a compulsory tradition ; and this, in other words, is an establishment.' In England the national temperament facilitated the task. For proving the truth of religion there are as it were two instruments : fact and reason, or, in other words, the way of history and that of science. But the English mind has a greater inclination towards what is present and

positive than to what is far removed in space and time, or is subtilized in abstract ideas. Moreover Protestantism itself, having neither roots in the past nor fixity of doctrine, pays no heed to inquiry and argument, except so far as it is forced to do so. Another characteristic of the English people is its loyalty and attachment to the sovereign. It was therefore a stroke of genius to identify the religion with the throne, to make ' the Sovereign the source and centre, as of civil, so of ecclesiastical arrangements ; and truth synonymous with order and good government.' Catholicism is struck down, the priests declared traitors and expelled, Protestantism comes to be the necessary passport to place and dignities : King, courtiers, Parliament, the magistracy, the army, the Universities, the clergy, all have to take the oath ; and so all who are of rank, of fortune, of influence, of name, of talent, everything which counts, is brigaded : you must be a Protestant or simply not exist.

Elizabeth had quickly seen that, as a Protestant queen, she could not have an ally more sure and more faithful than the Law. Whatever passes into law is permanent ; if the law becomes Protestant, it will remain Protestant ; if Protestantism is made a principle of the Constitution, the law will be at its service to illustrate its doctrines and defend its interests. There would be no long drawn out disputes ; delicate religious questions received once and for all a Protestant solution ; once and for all it was decided what was the rule and what the exception ; the past was regularized ; ' whatever the

Crown had claimed was to be its due, whatever the Pope claimed was to be a usurpation.' But the queen had an influence on her side, more powerful perhaps than the Law : she was queen not only of the land but of fashion and opinion. ' The religious observances of the Court became a reigning fashion throughout the social fabric, as certainly as its language or its mode of dress.' And so it came about that one must of course be Protestant, every one is, it is the fashion, moreover the only true, the only divine fashion ; whereas Catholicism is out of date, finished with, ridiculous, absurd ; by dint of repeating and practising this, one ends by believing it. By a stroke of luck following on a stroke of genius, English ' Protestantism became, not only the tradition of law and of good society, but the tradition of literature too,' of which the rise coincided with the reign of Elizabeth ; so that ' while the English language was coming to the birth with its special attributes of nerve, simplicity and vigour, at its very first breathings Protestantism was at hand to form it upon its own theological patois, and to educate it as the mouthpiece of its own tradition.' This period saw the accomplishment of a great literary work, which was and ever will be a masterpiece, the translation of the Bible into English. It witnessed, too, authors of the first rank, some close to the Queen, the panegyrists of her person and of her religion, others nearer to the people, and hence exercising the greater influence on it, forming at once its spirit and its language. And it is as it were a stream which goes on increasing

every quarter of a century, fed by each generation of writers in every genre, who 'all proceed upon the hypothesis, which they think too self-evident for proof, that Protestantism is synonymous with good sense, and Catholicism with weakness of mind, fanaticism, or some unaccountable persuasion or fancy.'

As if this quadrupled tradition made up of the court, the law, society, and literature was not enough to saturate the national soul with Protestantism ; as if it was to be feared that time would dilute the virulence of the poison ; as if there were need of some sort of vigilance committee, the Anglican clergy undertook to fulfil this office. Theirs was the task to guard the arsenal of sophisms and calumnies, to denounce the activities of papists, to sound the alarm, to ring the tocsin. And whatever may have been its failings in other respects, in this one at least it is still well up to its task. If the exposition of its own teaching may have been vague, incomplete, and dull, the enumeration of Catholic doctrines has been particular, the fullest light has been thrown upon their errors, their impiety has been cursed with passion. ' If there was no call for a contest, at least there was the opportunity of a triumph. Who could want matter for a sermon, if ever his thoughts would not flow, whether for convenient digression or effective peroration ? ' As the master, so the disciple. Protestants formed in such a school may know nothing about their own religion, they know everything about that of Catholics ! ' When he was young he has heard it

said again and again ; to his certain knowledge it has uniformly been said the last forty, fifty, sixty years, and no one ever denied it ; it is so in all the books he ever looked into.' The Blessed Virgin, the Councils, the Popes—and Pope Joan, the Jesuits, the Mass, feasts and the rest, he knows all the calumnies, he will not listen to their refutation. 'They trust the voice of Henry or Elizabeth, with its thousand echoes, more than their own eyes and their own experience ; and they are zealous in echoing it themselves to the generation which is to follow them.'

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Newman discerns the objection which may be raised, and he knows, too, what he must concede : 'I do not deny that there are great names on the side of Protestantism, which require to be considered by themselves. . . . And again there are Protestant arguments, clear and broad, which remain, whether Protestantism is received or whether it is not.' But it is not with this point that he is concerned ; he is considering the public at large, such as it is to-day, over which neither those great names nor those arguments have any influence. What may be called its anti-Catholic tradition derives from quite different sources : stories heard almost everywhere, at school, in the public-house, at the club, in the drawing-room, at church ; statements read in the newspapers, in the reviews, in novels, poems, and plays ; in a word exhalations, so to speak, of multiple origin that condense in the air, which with the poisons it conceals, they breathe

from the cradle to the tomb. However universal and immemorial this tradition may be, it preserves its nature, and demands, for its justification, an initial authority to render it worthy of evidence. This is the crux, and he does not hesitate to assert that 'this Protestant Tradition, on which English faith hangs, is wanting just in the first link.' If we succeed in following it up to its beginnings, this is what we find : 'Either facts are not forthcoming, or they are not sufficient for the purpose : sometimes they turn out to be imaginations or inventions, sometimes exaggerations, sometimes misconceptions. . . . Testimonies which were quoted as independent turn out to be the same, or to be contradictory of each other, or to be too improbable to be true, or to have no good authority at all ; so that our enemies find they cannot do better, after all, than fall back on the general reception of the Tradition itself, as a reason for receiving the Tradition, and they find it convenient to convict us of all manner of crimes, on the simple ground of our being notoriously accused of them.'

Newman is astonished and indignant beyond measure at the injustice and illegality of the treatment accorded to Catholics. Before any ordinary tribunal there are formalities to go through, the accuser must have some definite charge to bring, supported by sound evidence ; he has to make good his accusations. But it would seem that before the tribunal of public opinion, the *onus probandi* falls entirely on Catholics, it matters not what the accusation or by whom it is brought. No proof is

offered, a mere assertion is made ; it is for the accused to deny the charge and to prove their case ; and this is more often than not impossible from the very nature of the accusation. Often generalities are resorted to, which always admit of exceptions and loop-holes, as for instance : Every twentieth man you meet is a Jesuit in disguise, or again—nunneries are for the most part prisons. Sometimes they state a fact and refer in their support to an authority, Albertus Magnus, or Gerson, or Baronius, in the folios of whom the fact, supposing it to be there at all, is as easy to find as a needle in a stack of hay ; or, worse still, their reference to volume or page is wrong. At other times they will give all the circumstances of time and place and action ; only the event happened several centuries ago, in a place to which no one has ever gone, while the persons concerned are entirely unknown. You may try to clear up the matter ; in the majority of cases you will not succeed in doing so ; but if you do, it will be too late, the lie will have done its work, and as someone said who knew what he was talking about, something will always remain. Newman himself is so fully persuaded of the futile and ungrateful nature of such a task, that he will not attempt it, but contents himself with giving ' two or three actual specimens of the mode in which the accusation against Catholics is conducted ; which may serve to give you some insight into the value of the Tradition,' to which these specimens belong.

The first specimen, which is representative of the

Tradition of Literature, is taken from Hallam, an historian of repute, who, when describing the state of Europe in the Middle Ages, quotes S. Eligius, or Eloi, to show 'that Catholics were at that time taught that true Christianity consisted, not in the absence of fraud and injustice, or again, of immorality, hatred, or strife—but in merely coming to church, paying tithes, burning candles, and praying to the saints.' But where does he get this from? From S. Eloi? No, but from Robertson who had got it from Maclaine, who was Mosheim's English translator. The passage from Mosheim had already been used by two others: a certain Mr. White, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, in his lectures on Mohammad and his religion had very appropriately made use of it in a digression, and sometime before him, the Anglican Archdeacon Jortin had offered it as a *résumé* of Catholicism by S. Eloi. At last in 1833, a Protestant historian, Dr. Waddington, after himself quoting Mosheim on page 153 of his work, had the happy idea of looking up the original, and, on page 298, he confesses that 'it was with great sorrow and some shame, that he ascertained the *treachery* of his historical conductor. . . . The expressions cited by Mosheim . . . were forcibly brought together *by a very unpardonable mutilation* of his authority.' Other writers also denounced the fraud; but, in 1841, in a new edition of Mosheim in English, without a word of remark or any correction, the old lie reappeared as fresh and as full of life as ever.

The second specimen represents the Tradition of

Respectability and it is taken from *The Times*,* the newspaper of rich, serious, upright, thoughtful people. Here is the extract : ' It is the custom, as our readers are aware, in Roman Catholic countries, for the clergy to post up a list of *all the crimes* to which human frailty can be tempted, placing opposite them the *exact sum* of money for which their perpetration will be indulged.' This very serious calumny is unfortunately so widely circulated that Newman stops for a moment to establish clearly the teaching of the Church on the remission of sins and on the temporal punishment due for them. This done he presents one of the original authorities for this accusation. It is a clergyman who had visited Belgium in 1835, and who, sixteen years later, following on the outcry against the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England, or as Protestants called it, Popish Aggression, ill-inspired by his zeal, launched his petty denunciation of Catholics, and asserted that he had seen the list of sins with their prices appended affixed to the door of the Cathedral of S. Gudule. His statement which was reproduced by the press excited legitimate indignation in Brussels, and was the object of a total and flat denial which was signed by the clergy and magistrates. But then. . . ? No, the clergyman had not fabricated a calumny with circumstantial details, but it must be supposed—and this is the very probable explanation put forward by a Brussels newspaper—that the visitor, ignorant of the language of the country and obsessed by his

* June, 1851.

Protestant prejudices, had mistaken for a tariff of sins the tariff of chairs which actually may be found somewhere near the door of the Cathedral. It may be observed that it was fully two months after the publication of the article in *The Times* before the refutation appeared ; once more the lie is doing very well indeed.

The third specimen represents the Tradition of men of the world and in fact of everybody. Newman has not got to go far to seek it. The building of the Oratory in Birmingham had excited curiosity and even suspicion ; think for a moment, one of the convents with their terrible secrets ! The ground not being level and there being ' a prejudice among Catholics in favour of horizontal floors,' the architect had profited by the occasion to build some cellars which were the more useful since they were close to the kitchen. Vaults ! subterraneous chambers ! In short ' *those cellars were cells* ' ; what we have read is then true, we have proof of it under our very eyes ; those cells recalled to mind ' the incarcerations, the torturings, the starvings, the immurings, the murderings proper to a monastic establishment.' Calumny raised its voice too soon and too loud, and it died of it. It is a pity, adds Newman, for if it had had the time to get established, perhaps some years later, during a sectarian riot, generous Protestants might have been inspired ' to rescue certain legs of mutton and pats of butter from imprisonment, and to hold an inquest over a dozen packing-cases, some old hampers, a knife-board, and a range of empty blacking bottles.'

To repeat, Newman does not assert that everything that may be said against Catholicism is false ; some things are true ; some are only bad from the Protestant point of view, others at most suggest subtle objections, others, lastly, are really sinful and detestable, and are detested by Catholics equally with Protestants. But all taken together are insufficient to explain and justify the professional Protestant attitude ; the lie is for it a necessity : ' Thou shalt bear false witness ' is a vital commandment ; 'anti-Catholic Traditions could not be kept alive, would die of exhaustion, without a continual supply of fable.' For what they have to prove is not that Catholics, laity, priests, religious, bishops, popes, have been or are bad, which Catholics are the first to admit and deplore, but that the Catholic Church herself has been and is bad, and for that, 'one thing has to be examined, whether on the whole her influence and her action is on the side of what is wrong, or rather (as is the case) simply powerful on the side of good ; one thing has to be proved, that the scandals within her pale have been caused by her principles, her teaching, her injunctions, or, which pretty nearly comes to the same thing, that they do not also exist, and as grievously (Catholics would say, they exist far more grievously), external to her.' For instance, to criminate ecclesiastical celibacy, it would be necessary to prove that a married clergy is free from the faults with which in like matters Catholic priests are reproached. ' But if matrimony does not prevent cases of immorality among Protestant ministers, it is not celibacy which

causes them among Catholic priests. Here as elsewhere, it is not the ecclesiastical system which is responsible, but human nature, which at bottom is the same always and everywhere. There is nothing in the scandals which come to pass which should astonish us, much rather may we wonder at the ease with which the enemies of the Church welcome, denounce, and publish abroad pretended scandals, to which too often (happily) there can be credited not one atom of truth.

Or rather no. This ever-ready welcome is wholly natural. The Protestant Tradition must be fed if it is to live, and with the food which agrees with it. But it has represented the Catholic Church under such horrible colours and features that only the most horrible stories will correspond with them. People began by believing the absurd, and they can no longer believe anything but what is absurd, 'the prodigious, the enormous, the abominable, the diabolical, the impossible.' When apostasies take place, and persons who were yesterday Catholics, claim to speak with full knowledge, which of all their so-called revelations are those which the Protestant public accepts and propagates? Those which are most veracious or the most truculent? Newman contrasts two cases typical and moreover as opposite as one could wish, as are the two persons who play the leading part in them. 'One was a man, the other a woman; the one a gentleman, a person of very superior education and great abilities, who lived among us, and might be interrogated and cross-examined at any time:

the woman, on the other hand, had no education, no character, no principle, and, as the event made manifest, deserved no credit whatever.' The former was the Spanish apostate priest already mentioned, Blanco White. The pamphlet in which he describes the state of the Spanish clergy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the infidelity or immorality which had corrupted a certain number of priests, is assuredly not edifying; what he says of himself simply proves that he had embraced the priesthood without having a true vocation. In the case, in fact, there is nothing but what is only too natural, too common; and its parallel may be found among the Anglican clergy themselves. Very different are the 'Awful Disclosures' of Maria Monk, edited from her narrative by a Protestant group in New York. It is true that Protestants in Montreal, where was situated the imaginary convent of which she had described the horrors, who investigated the case had their trouble for nothing; but true or false—and on this point no one bothered his head—these insanities touched up by a certain amount of local colour answered too accurately to the current opinion (in the Protestant world) not to make the fortune of the book. And so, while Blanco White's veracious but moderate pamphlet soon went out of print, Maria Monk's romance, packed with lies but painted in vivid colours, had reached within fifteen years a circulation of 200,000 to 250,000 copies. The preference thus manifested by the Protestant public 'reveals a great fact;—truth is not equal to the exigencies of the Protestant cause; falsehood

is its best friend.' Newman could have chosen other examples, for they abound. He names some past-masters in the art of lying, of recent date, who were received with open arms and with no other recommendation than their slanders, whereas a certain Steimnitz, who, after having been a novice with the Jesuits, became a Protestant and naturally published a pamphlet against his former brothers, had not the same success. His *factum* though abounding in bitterness and invective, was at bottom so poor in facts to the disadvantage of those whom he nevertheless must have known so well, that the disappointed Protestants would see in his work nothing but ' what they called a Jesuit trick, and said that he was pretending to attack the good fathers in order really to set them off to advantage.' The Protestant Tradition fears nothing so much as the truth.

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Again it is not sufficient to allege that certain facts are true ; something more is needed : the moral power and the authority to make the allegation. And this is precisely what Protestants lack. ' Protestants for the most part find it very pleasant to attack others, very irksome and annoying to defend themselves ; they judge us by one rule, themselves by another ; and they convict us of every sin under heaven for doing sometimes what they do every day.' Newman cites various examples, then takes a contrasting theme which he develops : the reproach, so often repeated against the Church and Catholics, of intolerance, of tyranny, and of per-

secution. He has no desire to discuss either the proposition or the facts, but only to establish that Protestants follow a course of conduct to which we can only attach the same names, and hence that they ought to remember that 'they should not throw stones who live in glass houses.'

What is the behaviour of a Protestant father of a family, otherwise an excellent man, at the news that one of his children, who is, moreover, of age, has become or wishes to become a Catholic? There are exceptions, but only enough to confirm the rule, that 'Protestants have felt it right, just and necessary, to break the holiest of earthly ties, and to inflict the acutest temporal suffering on those who have exercised their private judgment in the choice of a religion.' Often there is a complete rupture, perpetual banishment from the home; excommunication which will extend to their children's children. At other times an open breach is avoided; a young girl will stay in her parents' house, but in it she will have to endure incessant persecution at the hands of all, she will feel antipathy in every word and look; at length she loses patience, she will perhaps yield, she will lose her new faith, and even all her belief, but 'for them, she may believe anything or nothing,' whatever it be, 'it is better than Popery.' As to domestic servants the procedure is more summary: always objects of suspicion, often thrown out of their situations, forced, in order to live at all, to accept any sort of service at wages, however low, and further on the condition that they pay for a dubious

toleration by giving up more or less all the public observances of their religion and by putting up with, at any rate in appearance, the Protestant practices of their masters. The same tyrannical spirit is to be found in all social relations : everywhere, to become a Catholic is to run the risk of losing his employment, his influence, his clients, his friends.

It is easy to guess what may be the conduct of Protestants against the Priest, and against the Catholic name itself. What would happen if their power to inflict injury equalled their evil intentions? And all the time Catholics are accused of ingratitude. If the truth be told, they are kind enough to recognize their existence, principally in order to enact exceptional and repressive measures against them. For they cannot admit the notion that the Catholic Church has as much right in England to make converts as any other denomination. ' It is a new idea to them ; they had thought she ought to be content with vegetating, as a sickly plant, in some backyard or garret window ; but to attempt to spread her faith abroad—this is the real insidiousness, and the veritable insult.' They style this political intrigue ; the root of the matter is that ' they wish to coerce us because we are zealous, and they venture to coerce us because we are few.' And when, after having done all the harm possible, internal dissensions and the march of ideas bring Protestants to the point of proclaiming the principle of religious toleration, from which it is neither prudent nor even possible to exclude Catholics, they would exact

from the latter thanks for a benefit which was not meant for them and to which, it must be remembered, all citizens have an equal right. The persecuting spirit which reveals itself in the refusal of equal justice, is equally shown in the attacks, insults, provocations by word and pen, finishing up, as is natural, with assault. Protestants, raised to a frenzy by the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy and especially by the false interpretation which they give to it, had for nine months furnished so clear a proof of this spirit, that Newman had only to point the finger to ' some of the phenomena of a religion which makes its special boast to be the Prophet of Toleration.'

And now in the very midst of these disturbances an unfrocked Italian monk, a Dr. Achilli, comes to give a course of lectures, and ' the Protestant world flocks to hear him, because he has something to tell of the Catholic Church. He *has* a something to tell, it is true ; he *has* a scandal to reveal, he *has* an argument to exhibit. It is a simple one, and a powerful one, as far as it goes—and it is *one*. That one argument is himself.' Newman denounces the vile apostate in terms for which a Protestant jury was, literally, to make him pay dear. Without suspecting that what he says is discredited by what he is, Achilli declaims against the Roman Inquisition, and he chooses his ground badly, not only because, in this matter, the Popes have always given proof of mercy and humanity, but also and above all because English Protestants, ' before they commiserate culprits two thousand miles away, would

do well to feel some shame at victims of their own making.' Is there no Inquisition in England? It may not bear the name, but is it not the thing itself? 'Has no one ever been put in prison, or fined, or transported, or doomed to death in England, for preaching against the religion of England?' Men talk with horror of the fires of the Inquisition. England too has had her fires, (bûchers) and, perhaps a yet more hideous spectacle, she has had her butchers (bouchers): Catholics 'have been tortured, hung, cut down alive, cut open alive, quartered, and boiled.' It is only quite lately that heavy penal inflictions have been taken off, to which the simplest observances of his religion exposed a Catholic. Some vestiges of the past still endure: 'crosses, pictures, medals, beads, and the like, blessed by the Pope are still illegal; an *Agnus Dei* is still illegal.' It was the carrying of an *Agnus Dei* which led to the recognition and condemnation of Cuthbert Maine, the first priest to be martyred in the reign of Elizabeth. And how many others there were after him, Wilson, Campion, Sherwin, Sherwood, Brian, Haydock, Finch, White, Claxton, and hundreds more; and how horrible is the story, even abridged, of their sufferings. As to the victims of imprisonment and of exile, they can hardly be numbered. But Protestants will neither see nor hear; they close their eyes and stop their ears and rail at the top of their voices against the Pope. And yet, 'what will the Protestants bring against the Holy See comparable to atrocities such as these?'

These horrors are no anomaly in the history of Protestantism. It has ever, and in all places, shown itself a persecuting power. And it is this Protestantism, culpable and arch-culpable as it is, which has the audacity to say : ' I accuse.' By what right ? Because, it asserts, it is on principle opposed to persecution. Evidently one may have high principles and yet sometimes, nay, often, act contrary to those very principles. But Protestants go too far here : for them the exception is become the rule ; their conduct has never once accorded with their so-called principles ; they are a living contradiction ; they say one thing and do another ; they preach peace and march to war ; they persecute while all the time they are protesting against persecution, and denouncing and cursing Papists for being persecutors. But, after all, this contradiction is quite natural ; they are forced to it ; it is the result of their false position, of their fundamental doctrine of private judgment, which ' is extreme and unreal, and necessarily leads to excesses in the opposite direction . . . they altogether ignore a principle which the Creator has put into our breasts, the duty of maintaining the truth ; and, in consequence, they deprive themselves of the opportunity of controlling, restraining, and directing it.' The French Revolution presented the same phenomenon : never did a more extravagant apotheosis of the rights of man go hand in hand with a most horrible profanation of those same rights. They cried : Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and multitudes of victims were marched to the scaffold or the

river-side. The Catholic Church is the exact opposite. Individuals among her children may have been guilty of excesses ; she herself may have taken some measures of most solemn import ; yet for one deed of severity with which she may be charged, there have been a hundred of her acts, repressive of the persecutor and protective of his victims. She has been a never-failing fount of humanity, equity, forbearance, and compassion, precisely because she has accepted those natural ideas and instincts which Protestantism has vainly sought to ignore and contradict. And thus we arrive at the solution of the paradox, ' that the Religion which forbids private judgment in matters of Revelation, is historically more tolerant than the Religions which uphold it ; ' or, to quote the words of Balmez from whom these ideas are taken, ' the Popes armed with a tribunal of intolerance, have scarce spilt a drop of blood ; Protestants and Philosophers have shed it in torrents.'

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Protestants, then, have no right to bring such charges against Catholics ; but this right which they do not possess they seize, they take an unfair advantage, they pile lies on exaggerations and absurdities on lies. They are forced to it. ' The lion rends his prey, and gives no reason for doing so ; but man cannot persecute without assigning to himself a reason for his act ; he must settle it with his conscience ; he must have sufficient reasons, and if good reasons are not forthcoming, there is no help for it ; he must put up with bad.' The latter, moreover,

are the only ones sufficiently gaudy and staring and inflammatory to strike the multitude and counterbalance the imposing reality of the Catholic faith and the grandeur of the benefits it confers. But how is it 'that able, cultivated, enlarged minds should not only be the organs of the grossest slanders about us, but should refuse to retract them, when they have been absolutely silenced and exposed?' Conduct so extraordinary is explicable by the power of prejudice.

'Prejudice, you know, means properly a prejudgment, or judgment by anticipation; a judgment which is formed prior to the particular question submitted to us, yet is made to bear upon it.' Thus a previous knowledge of a person creates in us a prejudice, favourable or unfavourable to him as the case may be, and influences the present opinion we form on him and on his acts. There is nothing in this but what is natural and reasonable. There is no cause, therefore, for astonishment or indignation that those who have always heard Catholics spoken ill of should have a bad opinion of them, and be ready to believe, and to believe proved, all and everything of which they may be accused. But, and the point must be well noted, such a prejudice cannot exceed in weight the reasons and evidence which have contributed to create it; it neither can nor ought to be held as infallible; it does not remove the obligation of listening to the defence; when it goes as far as that it becomes obstinacy, 'and this is Prejudice in its bad and culpable sense.' And it is this of which Newman

boldly accuses Protestants, that 'they make the Tradition practically infallible, as if it had settled the view they are to take of the subject of it, once for all and for ever.' But is not this incredible, impossible? No, it is simply human. Prejudice is not only an act, it is a habit, a state of mind. If we hear the same things repeated again and again, the more striking they are the greater will be the impression which they make on us, and though 'a fact or argument is not stronger in its nature by being repeated, the effect on any mind, which is passive under the infliction, *is* stronger and stronger every time it is repeated. In this way almost any idea whatever may be impressed on the mind; a man will begin at length to think himself a fool or a knave, if every one tells him so.' This then is what comes of the perpetual talk against Catholics; it does not become truer; 'a lie is a lie just as much the tenth time it is told as the first; or rather more, it is ten lies instead of one,' but it gains in rhetorical influence, especially when multitudes take it up, and since the power of the prejudice is augmented in direct proportion to the numbers affected by it. On the other hand a mental impression is in some sort independent of the case which has produced it: the latter disappears, the former remains. Prejudice is, therefore, something more than an opinion, which we may cast off at will, it is 'an impression, which reason indeed can act upon, and the will can subdue, but only by degrees and with trouble . . . by an opposite process, by a succession of thoughts and deeds antagonistic to it.' But

it may be that we refuse to make this effort, and that, running counter to all reason and justice, we cling to and nourish a prejudice, shutting our eyes to whatever is said against it, seeking out and welcoming whatever can furnish a semblance of support for it ; and the more a prejudice depends upon the will and the more it does violence to truth and charity, the more culpable does that prejudice become.

Now let us see prejudice at work. A Protestant is quite persuaded that Catholics ' are universally impostors, tyrants, hypocrites, cowards, and slaves.' He meets with a story which falls in with this notion ; it is, therefore, likely to be true, it is, therefore true. But it is a random report devoid of any authority, of any proof ! No, no, it is much too good to be that. The story is denied, refuted, demolished. He continues to hug it. The refutation is urged upon him ; he draws himself up and goes on saying the same thing as before, only with a louder voice. If it is not true, it ought to be, it could be ; proof is wanting, that is all ; and what need of proof, when there are fifty such stories, all alike ? He is exasperated by arguments, as is a wasp by a window-pane through which it cannot pass ; for ' what is the use of even incontrovertible arguments against a conclusion which he already considers to be infallible ? ' This is an explanation of how it is that the most crushing refutations produce such slight results : it is that the lie ' is rooted in the mind itself ; it has no uncertain holding upon things external ; it does not depend upon the

accident of time, or place, or testimony, or sense, or possibility, or fact ; it depends on the will alone . . . it is safe and secure, while it has man's own will on its side.' Get your man at a moment when he is in a specially good humour and consents to listen to your argument on some given point ; you marshal your facts, cite your authorities, and develop your arguments ; the whole is clear, solidly based, unanswerable. After a few minutes thought, he exclaims : 'What clever fellows these Catholics are . . . they have a way out of everything . . . I fairly own I am beaten. This is how the Jesuits get on ; always educated, subtle, well up in their books ; a Protestant has no chance with them.' His convictions have not changed an iota. More commonly, however, he will not be well disposed, and the simpler and clearer the explanations which you give him are, the more factitious they will appear to him and the more will his suspicions be aroused.

On his side, moreover, he is singularly fertile in ingenious explanations, though these have no foundation whatever in fact. For instance, à propos of conversions and converts. Converts ? There are none, or if there are any, they are people of no intelligence nor character nor reputation ; their motives are more or less questionable, and their methods certainly reprehensible ; at any rate they will assuredly come back ; they have already done so ; in any case, if they do not come back, it will only be shame which holds them, for they are utterly miserable ; they have changed greatly, and

for the worse ; they have even lost all religion. And in all this, not one word of truth. If, however, this absence of truth is too patent, there remains a last resource on which they fall back, that is to forget that these Catholics were yesterday Protestants. Their power of interpretation is on a par with their powers of invention. The prejudiced Protestant 'sees Catholics and Jesuits in everything. . . . A Catholic Priest cannot be grave or gay, silent or talkative, without giving matter of offence or suspicion.' If he travels abroad, in a Catholic country, he finds matter for criticism or scandal in everything, in the social as in the religious state, the former, of course, being the result of the latter ; and what discoveries he makes ! Catholics and even the clergy, with the exception of the celebrant, do not communicate—at the few High Masses which he has attended ; he has seen in Saint Peter's in Rome, the monument to Pope Joan (or to the Countess Matilda or to Queen Christina, or simply some symbolic figure or other) ; he is sure that he can recall that the pretended chair of S. Peter in Rome bears the inscription : 'There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet,' (a chair of the kind, a relic of the Crusades, may be seen in Venice). But without going so far afield, simple attendance at a ceremony so habitual as Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, will suggest to him the most original ideas, the most fantastic interpretations. Newman, faithful to his principle that, in such matters, 'the plain truth is the keenest of satires,' culls all fresh from a recent number of a

Protestant journal the description of a ceremony of this kind. The details are sufficiently well observed ; but the terminology, the commentary ! The poor man ' is as densely ignorant of us, as he is supremely confident of his knowledge ; ' particularly when he imagines that the priest with his hand concealed in the folds of the humeral veil (which he calls a shawl) rings a bell hidden in the foot of the Monstrance (which for him is a candlestick surmounted by a star). And when he exclaims : ' This is the power of the priests, they are the best play actors in this town,' Newman makes answer : ' Rather such is the power of Prejudice.'

We are tempted to laugh, but really there is nothing to laugh at. ' When you see a beast of prey in his cage . . . its impotent fury, its fretful motions and its sullen air, and its grotesque expressions of impatience, disappointment, and malice, if it is baulked of its revenge,' the sight is at once ridiculous and terrible. The anti-Catholic prejudice is a moral infirmity, a vice, and ' one of the worst sins of which our poor nature is capable . . . because it argues so astonishing a want of mere natural charity or love of our kind.' And the evil is not so much that our own countrymen and women, in other respects good, charitable, kindly people, should have these false and disgraceful ideas of us Catholics, but that they should delight in them and cling to them. ' They are tenacious of what they believe, they are impatient of being argued with, they are angry at being contradicted, they are disappointed when a point is cleared up ;

they had rather that *we* should be guilty than *they* mistaken ; they have no wish at all we should not be blaspheming hypocrites, stupid idolaters, loathsome profligates, unprincipled rogues, and bloodthirsty demons.'

And hence it is that though the sky seem calm, there is always a black cloud lowering on the horizon, and a gentle breeze may be the harbinger of a tempest. In minds so strongly prejudiced an access of mad fury may burst forth at any moment. To believe Catholics capable of everything is to be prepared, when the hour strikes, to declare them culpable of everything. It is the old story which finds its echo in Tertullian, who wrote : ' They think the Christians to be the cause of every public calamity, of every national ill.' And they had but one cry : *Christianos ad leones !* And why ? Because ' no limit could be put to the brutishness of the notions then entertained of Christians by the heathen,' of their morals, their practices, their religion. So it is in modern times. The ideas which Protestants have of Catholics are different, but are equally absurd, and by the prejudice which they create may have equally tragic results. Newman quotes a famous example, how on the assassination of a London magistrate, whose murderers were never discovered, ' a bold catalogue of calumnies was sufficient to put the whole Kingdom into a paroxysm of terror and suspicion.' Titus Oates, whom the Protestant Hume calls ' the most infamous of mankind,' and William Bedloe, ' if possible more infamous than Oates,' raised the

cry of a plot, and ' came forward to swear against us the most atrocious and impossible falsehoods.' The Pope and Propaganda had claimed possession of England ; the Jesuits were to hold the reins of government and foreigners were to get the chief offices ; the King was to be put to death, assassins had been hired, rewards of such and such amounts had been offered ; London, the chief towns, and the shipping in the Thames were to be set on fire ; they were planning, with help from outside, a general massacre of Protestants. A wave of madness passed over the nation. The funeral of the victim was the occasion of an immense demonstration ; on all sides men took up arms, barricades were erected, patrols ranged the streets ; solemn resolutions were passed by Parliament ; at the same time perquisitions and arrests multipled, with their horrible and bloody accompaniment of tortures and executions. And all this simply because two wretches boldly maintained falsehoods which were in accord with popular prejudice. The liars of to-day are their equals in audacity and address ; it is a fortunate thing that difference in time and manners hinders them from equalling their success.

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If prejudice is one cause of opposition to Catholicism, there is another which is perhaps even more important. Let us suppose a person animated by sentiments of benevolence and justice, unbiassed, so far as that is humanly possible, with every desire to get to know Catholics better, their principles, doctrines, practices and devotions. What

is going to happen ? All his good will will be of no avail in the face of the impossibility of admitting one or other of these, this or that part, in a word the whole system, for ' all is extravagant, strained, unnatural, where it is not directly offensive, or substantially impossible.' When prejudice is also present, passion will be added to reason, or what the person takes to be such ; but even of itself the latter becomes the principle of a delightful sophism : Catholicism is irrational ; therefore Catholics themselves cannot believe what they profess, therefore they are hypocrites, therefore their motives must be bad. Thus you have clericalism, Popery : miscreants, hypocrites, rogues. And this conclusion has no other basis than the following : ' Protestants think Catholic doctrine and Catholic worship irrational.' Before going further it must be observed that this argument drawn from the antirational character of Catholicism is not quite so powerful as they would have it be, for, if it were, why should they so commonly have recourse to arguments of a totally different order, as for example calumny or persecution ? But it must be allowed that it does exercise a great influence particularly on educated people, and that it thus contributes on its part to the ill repute of Catholicism.

Some false judgments are based on prejudices, others on what Newman calls first principles. The difference between them is this that ' prejudices are opinions formed upon grounds, which grounds the prejudiced person refuses to examine ; ' whereas

first principles have 'no grounds at all, but are simple persuasions or sentiments, which come to the holder he cannot tell how, and which apparently he cannot help holding.' Evidently they may be either true or false, and this is what matters here. On the other hand they are not necessarily true ; there exist ways of unlearning those which are false ; hence those which do violence to morality or religion cannot be held without assuming responsibility for them ; but these are questions which Newman regards as outside the scope of his subject, which is not theological. That there must be such things as first principles—that is, opinions which are held without proof as if self-evident, is obvious. 'No man alive, but has some first principles.' The sceptic himself has as his first principle the very proposition which gives a body to his scepticism. Of course, we must at some point or other come to the last term in our series of reasons ; passing from *because* to *because* we must eventually arrive at a proposition where there is no further *because* ; and this is true in the domain of thought as it is in that of action. A few examples amply serve to prove 'what important, what formidable matters first Principles are. They are the means of proof, and are not themselves proved ; they rule, and are not ruled ; they are sovereign on the one hand, irresponsible on the other : they are absolute monarchs, and if they are true, they act like the best and wisest of fathers to us ; but, if they are false, they are the most cruel and baneful of tyrants . . . they are to the mind what the circulation of the blood and the

various functions of our animal organs are to the body. . . . They are, in short, the man.' But as the eye cannot see that which touches it, so too the mind is greatly exposed to the danger of losing sight of that which is, so to speak, one with itself; that self-knowledge is difficult comes to mean, in many cases, that men do not know their first principles. The impossibility of bringing a discussion to a close, the instinctive antipathy felt for certain authors, the sudden divergence of two persons who seemed to share the same religious or political views, all this is explained by a latent difference in first principles.

A large number of first principles are natural, and are therefore true, 'as having been imprinted on the human mind by its Maker.' Others are peculiar to individuals. Others are local or national; thus it came about that the pagan Romans, by virtue of their national principle, that everyone should follow the religion of his own country, condemned the early Christians for their efforts to make converts and their zeal in introducing a foreign religion; and this principle, held by all, was for that very reason regarded as a truth, wholly indisputable and sensible. If to proselytize was an offence, humility, so fundamental a Christion virtue—to crouch, to turn the cheek, not to resist, to love the lowest—this was equally a blow to the pride of the Romans, to the principle of human dignity as they understood it. Whence it follows, as may be noted in passing, that some first principles may be generally accepted and yet be

entirely false. But what Newman wants us thoroughly to understand is that he does not so much blame the Romans, and those who imitate them, for having used their first principles and condemned the Christians, but rather for having forgotten that the Christians themselves might have first principles of their own—those of the Gospel—which were their justification ; for having judged the precepts and practices of the Church on Roman rather than on Christian principles. A like mistake is ever being made. This or that modern writer will point out in detail the absurdity of this or that prayer or form of prayer, of *novenas*, of certain ceremonies ; in the last resort because he does not believe in the efficacy of prayer. His error lies in his forgetting that Catholics have their theory of prayer. ' He is a theorist, using his theory against our practice, as if our practice might not have its own theory also.' The unfortunate fact is that at bottom he imagines that he alone has principles, has reason on his side, ' knowing nothing whatever of our acute, profound, subtle philosophers, except by name, and ridding himself of the trouble of reading their works by nick-naming them schoolmen or monks.'

' Bigotry is the infliction of our own unproved first principles on others, and the treating others with scorn or hatred for not accepting them.' This applies, of course, to first principles which are purely ' local, or national, or sectional, or personal, or novel, and nothing more. To make these the standard of judging all existing opinions, without

an attempt at proving them to be of authority, is mere ridiculous bigotry.' In any case, those who, like Protestants, profess liberty of thought and private judgment, should be the very last to set up as a universal and absolute oracle the principles of which they themselves are the responsible originators. And Newman in an eloquent passage addresses those innovators who imagine, so it seems, that the world had lived before their day without principles. 'Catholicism had its first principles before you were born : you say they are false ; very well, prove them to be so : they are false, indeed, if yours are true ; but not false merely because yours are yours. . . . Catholicism has its first principles ; overthrow them if you can ; endure them if you cannot. . . . My principles, which I believe to be eternal, have at least lasted eighteen hundred years ; let yours live as many months.' In reality this is what is called narrowness of mind, the ridiculous attitude of one who, having never got out of his rut—or his country—sees fit to criticize and pass judgment on the rest of the universe. Quite the reverse is the man who has travelled in the world or in history ; he knows the multiplicity and diversity of principles ; he has studied, analysed, criticized them ; if he judges them severely and declares them false and dangerous, it is that he knows what he is talking about. And this is all that Catholics ask : that people should be good enough to remember that they have principles of their own, that the modern world should have the fairness to study them, to understand what they

are, to refute them, instead of putting them aside and, in the name of its own principles, of condemning the creed, the worship, ecclesiastical proceedings, and moral teaching of the Church.

Newman takes one example out of a thousand : the Catholic belief in miracles wrought by the relics or the prayers of the saints. There is nothing perhaps which strikes Protestants more than the number of these miracles, or shocks them more than the absurdity of the belief in them. We are not here concerned, at any rate directly, with the facts ; on this point both sides are in agreement : relics and miracles, say Protestants, everlastingly and everywhere ; relics and miracles, rejoin Catholics. But the tone in which it is said is different, on our side, affirmative and exultant ; on theirs, aggressive and contemptuous. ' We affirm that the Supreme Being has wrought miracles on earth ever since the time of the Apostles : Protestants deny it. . . . On either side the first principle is made to be decisive of the question. . . . Both they and we start with the miracles of the Apostles ; and then their first principle or presumption, against our miracles, is this, " What God did once, He is *not* likely to do again ; " while our first principle or presumption, for our miracles, is this, " What God did once, He *is* likely to do again " .' It is not a question of this or that miracle, or of the number and quality of the proofs which support it ; but it is all miracles which are annihilated at a blow by the sweeping assertion : ' It is *impossible*. . . . There are no miracles since the Apostles.'

Accumulate your proofs, you will never have enough to convince a Protestant, because his first principle forbids his belief in them. But if it is impossible that there should be miracles, how comes it that there should be so many of them? I mean such a host of stories, such a mass of evidence. Credulity and imposture, stupidity and roguery; this is the only logical inference. Since religion is in question, they call them pious frauds, to which they assign as motives desire of gain and power, and pin to this delightful combination the label of clericalism. The whole superstructure rests on a pure conditional: If (*si*) Protestantism be true, clericalism must be something abominable. But it must be thoroughly understood that the *si* is the tonic of this scale—in the hypothetical mode.

What have Catholics to say on their side? First of course that they believe in the Incarnation, as do, it is true, Protestants themselves; and the Incarnation is so stupendous a miracle, that all others pale before it, and it is the easiest thing in the world to admit them, if they are met with. And that they may be expected, which is the first principle of Catholics, is assuredly as tenable and more so than the negative. When God begins He goes on; a miracle is the first term in a series. An isolated miracle, or a group of isolated miracles, would appear to be only a violation of the cosmic law; whereas continuity transforms this apparent violation into an additional law of Providence. On the other hand, does one miracle predispose us to admit or to reject others? There is only one answer

to this. Catholics have, then, a solid ground for a belief in miracles; hence, for them 'there are two systems going on in the world, one of nature, and one above nature; and two histories, one of common events, and one of miracles; and each system and each history has its own order;' and just as a Protestant does not deny a fact because it is natural, so a Catholic will never deny a miracle because it is supernatural; for him miracles are true, although every miracle demands its own particular proof, while the Protestant at one blow condemns the whole Catholic thaumatology as a gigantic fraud. As for the multitude of miracles of which little or no proof is at hand, the Catholic believes them true in the sense in which the Protestant accepts as true the details of English history, not in the sense that 'there are no mistakes in it, but no mistakes of consequence, none which alters the general course of history. Nor do they mean they are equally sure of every part, for evidence is fuller and better for some things than for others.' They have really no call on them to organize a hunt for past errors and to set up a censorship for errors which are to come. And so with Catholics. Firmly established in their belief in miracles, if they do not hesitate to reject those which are clearly forged, they are tolerant until the evidence of this is established. Newman for his part avows his belief in miracles, and that there may be nothing vague about his avowal, he makes it openly and in detail. He expects that many will impute this 'to insanity, or to an idiosyncrasy, or to imbecility of mind, or

to decrepitude of powers, or to fanaticism, or to hypocrisy. They have a right to say so if they will ; and we have a right to ask them why they do not say it of those who bow down before the Mystery of Mysteries, the Divine Incarnation. If they do not believe this, they are not yet Protestants ; if they do, let them grant that He who has done the greater may do the less.'

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Newman took the miracle as his example because of its intrinsic importance ; he could have chosen other examples, for they abound ; for instance, the false first principle that Scripture is the one Rule of Faith. And he relates how once a gentleman invited him to discuss Infallibility, but with the condition that appeal must be made to Scripture alone. Newman refused the condition which he considered both dangerous and absurd, and asked him to prove his principle : the Bible and nothing but the Bible ; and the good man, without waiting to hear anything more, ' turned away as happy and self-satisfied as if he had gained a victory.' Without taking into account the fact that Christian teaching has been principally oral, Protestants admit only the Scriptures, confine themselves mainly to the New Testament, lay special store on the two Epistles of S. Paul to the Romans and Galatians, and in these limit themselves to one or two sentences. By this process ' the religion of the Apostles may come in the event to mean anything or nothing.' And this leads Newman to a new point. For just as Protestants have ' scraps '

which represent the teaching of the Apostles, and which they call ' Scriptural Religion,' so, too, they have ' scraps ' which represent Catholic teaching and which they call Popery. ' And, as by the aid of their verses from Scripture, they think they understand the Gospel better than the first Christians, so by the help of these choice extracts from our works, they think they understand our doctrine better than we do ourselves.' The truth is that they do not wish to know Catholics, and this deliberate and cherished ignorance is the last of the causes of their hatred and contempt.

To get to know any matter there is no better course than to get a first hand view of it. To become acquainted with a foreign people nothing equals a personal inquiry made on the spot. If a man has lived among them for a sufficient time, ' he has contemplated the national character in life and in action, as it is brought out in its opinions, aims, sentiments, and dispositions in the course of the day and the year ; he has heard the words, seen the deeds, watched the manners, breathed the atmosphere, and so caught the true idea of the people ;— in other words he has mastered their Tradition.' And this is also what Catholics understand by tradition and why they attach such importance to it : because, better than anything else, it shows what they are and draws a portrait of them from life, a portrait which no written records can ever completely delineate, ' any more than a man's countenance and manner can be conveyed to strangers in any set of propositions.' And this is

why Protestants, from the very fact that they are not Catholics, commit, when they meddle in Catholic matters, a double error : that of thinking that they know the Catholic faith, and that of believing themselves capable of teaching it to Catholics. It does not appertain to the first comer or to a mere amateur to give lessons in their trade to professionals, ' to teach the Pope in his own religion, and refute a Council.'

The great Catholic thinkers occupy a considerable place in libraries from the imposing numbers of their folios. ' Our Protestant, however, is sure that there must be very little in such works, because they are so voluminous.' However, they possess their substance, condensed in their excerpts and anthologies, in which a few pages isolated from their context resemble plants torn up by the root and replanted head down, and give a very poor and unfair idea of the garden in which they bloomed. A hasty and fragmentary study, a few texts and facts gleaned at hazard, can only give a false picture of Catholic doctrines and devotions. It is easy to remain sceptical at the story of an isolated miracle ; it is not so easy to read the life of a saint, in which miracles abound, but in which they are seen in their proper setting, explained by the circumstances, and supported by the evidence of witnesses, without experiencing at least a feeling of astonishment, of perplexity, and, as it were, that intimate conviction of depth, which is the beginning of respect. It is easy to form an idea of the Popes, or rather an imaginary picture, a strange, not to

say baroque picture, and to label it with apocalyptic names ; it is not so easy to retain it, after reading the biographies and memoirs which show them to us as they were, good, or bad, or indifferent, resolute or weak, austere or worldly, but men and not ' a sort of diabolical automaton, spouting out sin and wickedness by the necessity of his nature,' such as the Protestant Tradition is pleased to represent them. Infallibility is not a synonym of impeccability ; nor is priesthood of holiness. Priests are not all angels, and no Catholic believes they are, but they are none the less not all demons, as Protestants imagine them to be. They are men subject to all human weaknesses and failings, although, ' on the whole, they had been, as a body, the salt of the earth and the light of the world, through the power of divine grace, and thus . . . had fulfilled the blessed purpose of their institution.' But it is not on one or two points merely, it is on everything we think and say and do, that to open the windows and let in the light would be all that was necessary to dispel the spectres. If Protestants were but willing to look instead of argue, to transfer the discussion from the realm of controversy to that of facts ! But that would be the end of a régime. Gone would be the thrill of scandals and stories of brigands ! Gone the joy of making a meal of . . . Catholics. And think of the many other motives there are, some blameworthy, others excusable : contempt and hatred, resentment and jealousy, prejudices and false principles, fear of being unduly influenced, concern to fulfil the

duties of office or of situation, et cetera, which present an almost insuperable barrier, and prolong indefinitely the life of misunderstandings by perpetuating ignorance.

Thought translates itself into language ; Catholicism expresses itself in formulas and words which, as is natural, will be ill-understood in proportion as men are ignorant of its teaching. And not only here, but in every order of knowledge, the letter kills and the spirit quickens. Here is a good old woman who says—she might have chosen her words better—that she has received ' absolution for a week.' The sense of her words is, of course, not that she can now sin to her heart's content for a week, but, on the contrary, that if she does not commit a greater sin, she may go to Holy Communion without previous confession. In the same way, an Indulgence does not mean the remission of sins without repentance, but solely the remission of the temporal punishment due to a sin of which one has repented. There are Protestant books which explain difficult passages of the Old Testament by means of present manners and customs among Orientals. Protestants themselves would do well to profit by this example and to interpret in the same way the works of thought and action of Catholics. But they prefer to follow the example of the tailor of Laputa, of whom Swift tells in one of his stories, who took the measure for a suit of clothes from a distance by means of a theodolite or other measuring instrument. Needless to add the suit also fitted—at a distance. A priest is seated

in the confessional, the penitent on his knees. What do they not see in these attitudes? And what do they not in imagination hear in the words of the confessor, whom they are only too ready to regard as an executioner ever engaged in putting his victim to the question—there is no other word—when he is above all occupied in enlightening, in encouraging, in consoling his penitent, with all the power of his faith and his experience and his charity. They will tell us that the tenth part of our clergy is troubled with doubts or even has lost all belief. How can this be proved? How do they pretend to prove it? By the methods of Laputa, observation at a distance, purely logical arguments, drawn from the past, from other countries, et cetera. Logic is surely a good thing, but it is possible to abuse it and to imitate that logician who, to a poor wretch locked in by accident in a public library, on his begging for help to get out, replied: 'No man can be in the library after 4 o'clock, p.m. You are a man: therefore. . . .' The best logic is powerless against facts.

This is not to say that Protestants do not like facts; it is only that they prefer those which are unfavourable to Catholics. They open wide their ears to an apostate priest or monk; but are these the only people able to instruct them accurately? Are there not competent and sincere men, today Catholics, but who yesterday were Protestants, who have changed their religion on a conviction which cannot be open to suspicion and at the cost in personal sacrifice which it is impossible to ignore?

It was hoped that this might not last, but it did last : they became Catholics and they have remained Catholics. Why not address themselves to these ? ' Because, forsooth, one grain of Protestant logic is to weigh more than cartloads of Catholic testimony. No, if our opponents would decide the matter by testimony, if they would submit their assertions to the ordeal of facts, their cause is lost.' And thus we come to the end of what may be called the balance sheet of Anglican Protestantism considered in its attitude towards Catholicism. This attitude has been, from its social and legal beginning, an organized and powerful tradition, which, incapable of life in the light of truth, has created for itself as it were, an atmosphere of falsehood in which it breathes in comfort. Its champions reproach Catholics with crimes of which they themselves are anything but innocent ; their prejudices lead them to accept in advance everything which might be unfavourable to Catholics, just as their false first principles lead them to judge adversely and condemn everything they may say or do ; finally ignorance nourishes these principles and prejudices, perpetuates these falsehoods, and ensures a long life to the tradition. Catholics and Protestants are as two armies facing one another, a handful against a multitude. What Newman has set out to do, is to reconnoitre the position and the forces of the enemy, so as to determine the tactics which should be employed by Catholics. What ought these to be ?

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Nothing can be simpler ; but then their difficulty is proportionate to their simplicity. Ignorance is the stronghold of the Protestant position, and it is there that Catholics must strike. Let them show themselves for what they really are, let them, if the occasion arises, expose this ignorance. This is at once the end and the means. If Protestants can be induced or forced to look at them and to see them as they are, the battle is won. 'Wherever Catholicism is known, it is respected, or at least endured, by the people. Politicians and philosophers, and the established clergy, would be against you, but not the people, if it knew you. A religion which comes from God approves itself to the conscience of the people, wherever it is really known.' But there is another thing which Protestants cannot and will not understand ; it is that Catholics who ought, as they think, to live in silence and under cover, like malefactors, satisfied to be treated with contemptuous tolerance, that these Catholics should dare to come out into the open, to assert their rights and place as citizens, should presume to preach, to controvert, to make converts. 'Is it madness, is it plot?' What especially throws them into a cold rage, is the sight of men of intelligence and good connexions, it may be their own friends or even relations, leaving them to join this dishonoured company. In dealing with them prudence is to be observed : a word here, an insinuation there, if occasion offer a veiled attack, but, above all, never speak of them, forget them ; ' and all for this,—that by the violation of every natural feeling,

and every sacred tie, you may keep up that profound ignorance of the Catholic Religion which the ascendency of Protestantism requires.'

'The great instrument of propagating moral truth is personal knowledge. . . . Local opinion is real public opinion . . . popular opinion only acts through local opinion.' There is between these two all the difference there is between the abstract and the concrete, between words and things. What they may think of us at the Antipodes is a trifling matter ; what really matters is what our neighbours think of us, the people in whose midst we live, and they are, too, the only people on whom we can act. 'A Member of Parliament in London might say that I had two heads, and refuse to retract it, though I solemnly denied it ; it would not be believed in Birmingham.' This is why anti-Catholic calumnies are always believed otherwhere than in the place where the event is supposed to have taken place. Without then denying the influence of what is said and done in the metropolis, or of what is published and circulated by the Press, the duty of every Catholic is to approve himself in his own environment ; if all would thus act everywhere, since 'each portion is defended, the whole is secured.' Their strength lies in their conscience and their God. Their very growth in numbers might be a danger, if it resulted in a compulsory exclusiveness, if a material extension were not accompanied by a corresponding moral manifestation. What Newman wants above all is that they should 'aim primarily at organization, edifica-

tion, cultivation of mind, growth of the reason. It is a moral force, not a material, which will vindicate your profession, and will secure your triumph. It is not giants who do most.' What he wishes them to be is Catholic, wholly and truly Catholic at heart and in their practices, fervent in a word, but besides this, enlightened, well-instructed, able to bring out what their religion is, and to defend it. They will be the first to gain by this, by acquiring that proper confidence in self which is so necessary for them, and with it the sense of true independence and calm patience. 'Ignorance is the root of all littleness.' And if this cultivation of the mind is not essential in the making of a Christian, it does contribute to the making of a man and a *gentleman*, with all those elements of moral greatness and external success which the name imports.

And what will be the extent of this success? The enemy will not at once lay down his arms. Falsehood is worn out. He will try some other weapon. Contempt and ridicule? There is nothing to fear on this score; the maxim that 'ridicule is the test of truth' however disputable in general, may be admitted here. The Catholic Religion 'may be, and is, maligned and defamed; ridiculed it cannot be. It is too real, too earnest, too vigorous, to have aught to fear from the most brilliant efforts of the satirist or the wit.' The voices will not be silenced, but their tone will be less bold and their noise will fall on more rebellious ears. Violence, persecution? Newman will not think that this

can come, although recent events may have somewhat shaken his confidence. But whatever the event, Catholics have in them 'an unearthly gift, not only of contending boldly, but of suffering well.' And speaking generally, in the history of the Church, 'not every age is the age of Saints, but no age is not the age of Martyrs.' The saint is one whose life is heroic, the martyr whose death. When the Church is prosperous, in the possession of riches, power, and name, then is it especially that we see flowering in clusters the great men who are the saints, with all the gifts of the intellect and the heart, all the marvels of the contemplative life, all the richness of the active life. When the Church is as she was at the beginning, composed in the main of the poor and the ignorant, with nothing of the prestige given by rank or fortune or talent, despised and maligned, yet then, 'had they nothing to show? were they without their glory? It was emphatically the age of Martyrs.' And who were they, these martyrs? Ordinary men and women, who, however, by the grace of God which resides in the Church, 'shot up at once to their high stature' of heroism. What has been, will be. The Catholics to-day, as their fathers before them, have in them 'the latent element of an indomitable fortitude. This may not be the age of saints, but all times are the age of martyrs.' Let us not forget this, and let our opponents also bear it in mind; let them beware lest they awake what they are pleased to call our fanaticism. Let them, as sensible men accept Catholicism, if not as true, at least as a fact,

and a fact which they cannot be rid of. For let them employ the only way of success over us in their power, a general massacre ; ' they have no other way ; they may gain a material victory, never a moral one.'

CHAPTER V

THE CULT OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

IN response to an open letter of Manning's, Pusey replied in a letter to Keble. The title of *letter* is, of course, a literary artifice. Doubtless we find at its head: ' My dearest friend ' and at the foot, ' Your affectionate friend ', but the body is a singular contrast to the two extremities, if we count and weigh its 286 octavo pages, which a post-script carries up to 335, while copious notes bring up the total to 409. In fact the complete title reads as follows: *The Church of England, a portion of Christ's one Holy Catholic Church, and a means of restoring visible unity. An Eirenicon, in a letter addressed to the Author of ' The Christian Year ; '* by E. B. Pusey (1864). From the measures for restoring visible unity the author plunges into a very lengthy discussion of the causes which, in his opinion, stand in its way, and which are the fault of Rome ; and in the very first place he sets the exaggerated character of her devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and the question of Infallibility which, already put, was soon to be defined. The first complaint occupies about a hundred pages in

the body of the letter. It sets out the excessive part attributed to Our Lady, the exaggerated appellations which correspond to it, and lays emphasis on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which had very recently been defined. It is to this complaint that Newman replies in his *Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., on the Occasion of his Eirenicon of* 1864.*

In some preliminary remarks, which serve as a kind of introduction, Newman expresses his joy at seeing that the idea of religious unity is occupying the thoughts of his former co-religionists ; and particularly at seeing it treated by Pusey, who must assuredly be the spokesman for a very large number. Newman knows by experience the profound happiness which would be felt by sincere hearts, if they found themselves once more in communion with the See of S. Peter. ' I conjecture it by what I used to feel myself, while yet in the Anglican Church. I recollect well what an outcast I seemed to myself, when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of S. Athanasius or S. Basil, and set myself to study them ; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholic communion, I kissed them with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all that I had lost ; and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious saints who bequeathed them to the Church, how I said to the inanimate pages, " You are now mine, and I am now yours, beyond any mistake." '

* To be found in *Difficulties of Anglicans,* Vol. II, pp. 1-170. (Longmans, Edition of 1892).

Newman, then, hopes for unity, but he also recognizes the rights of conscience and the consequent duty of formulating, as clearly and completely as may be, the difficulties which stand in the way. Having allowed this, he confesses to his correspondent with the greatest possible delicacy, 'that there is much, both in the matter and in the manner of your volume, calculated to wound those who love you well, but love truth more.' Is not the title *Irenicon* of Pusey's letter somewhat *ironical?* 'There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me—you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult.'

In a second series of remarks, Newman takes up certain personal allusions to himself, and in particular the following, which leads him directly to his subject. Is it becoming in a convert to launch out into controversy? In answering such a question there are distinctions to be drawn. Newman does this. 'Of course, as you say, a convert comes to learn, and not to pick and choose. He comes in simplicity and confidence, and it does not occur to him to weigh and measure every proceeding, every practice which he meets with among those whom he has joined. He comes to Catholicism as to a living system, with a living teaching, and not to a mere collection of decrees and canons, which by themselves are but the framework, not the body and substance of the Church. . . . By the Catholic system, I mean that rule of life, and those practices of devotion, for which we shall look in vain in the Creed of Pope Pius. The convert comes, not only

to believe the Church, but also to trust and obey her priests, and to conform himself in charity to her people.' Thus it is with ceremonial, moral theology, ecclesiastical regulations, and matters pertaining to politics, education, expediency, and taste. The convert does not dream of either criticizing or controverting ; he surrenders himself to the influences of his new faith ; he avoids the dangerous experiment of trying ' to discriminate every moment its substance from its accidents ; ' and he is gradually so indoctrinated in Catholicism as at length to have the right to speak. On the other hand, he will have had no difficulty in noticing the differences which distinguish theologians, schools of theology, countries, and epochs. He knows that in opinions and practices there may be much which may be called fashion, according to the circumstances of time and place, according to current politics, the character of the Pope of the day, or the chief Prelates of a particular country—and he knows that fashions change.

On his side, Newman feels warranted in declaring that, ' after twenty years of Catholic life, I feel no delicacy in giving my opinion on any point when there is a call for me.' And he confesses to having now ' reluctantly come to the conclusion that this Volume [the Eirenicon] *is* a call.' He is ready for it. And he at once defines the manner in which he envisages his subject by pointing out to Pusey a mistake into which he has fallen in regarding Faber and Oakeley as ' the harbingers of a new age, when to show a deference to Antiquity will be

thought little else than a mistake. For myself, hopeless as you consider it, I am not ashamed still to take my stand upon the Fathers, and do not mean to budge. The history of their times is not yet an old almanach to me. . . . The Fathers made me a Catholic, and I am not going to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church. It is a ladder quite as serviceable for that purpose now, as it was twenty years ago. Though I hold, as you know, a process of development in Apostolic truth as time goes on, such development does not supersede the Fathers, but explains and completes them. And, in particular, as regards our teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin, with the Fathers I am content.'

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Long is the list of what may be called the sophisms of confusion ; numerous also are the difficulties which a simple distinction is sufficient to dispel. Newman ' begins by making a distinction . . . between faith and devotion.' And at once he shows its bearing and applies it to the case. ' I fully grant that *devotion* towards the Blessed Virgin has increased among Catholics with the progress of centuries ; I do not allow that the *doctrine* concerning her has undergone a growth, for I believe it has been in substance one and the same from the beginning.' Moreover, there is nothing arbitrary in this distinction, and experience confirms it. ' By *faith* I mean the Creed and assent to the Creed ; by *devotion* I mean such religious honours as belong to the objects of our faith, and the payment of those

honours. Faith and devotion are as distinct in fact, as they are in idea. We cannot, indeed, be devout without faith, but we may believe without feeling devotion.' Of this last point, which is an important one, examples abound. How many literary and other reputations there are which, as it were, experience an ebb and flow. How many philosophic truths and artistic or scientific principles there have been, for the application of which the world has had to wait for a long time. 'That distinction between faith and devotion . . . is like the distinction between objective and subjective truth. The sun in the spring-time will have to shine many days before he is able to melt the frost, open the soil, and bring out the leaves ; yet he shines out from the first notwithstanding, though he makes his power felt but gradually. It is one and the same sun, though his influence day by day becomes greater ; and so in the Catholic Church it is the one Virgin Mother, one and the same from first to last, and Catholics may have ever acknowledged her ; and yet, in spite of that acknowledgment, their devotion to her may be scanty in one time and place, and overflowing in another.'

An obvious fact, and one which is brought home to a convert to the Catholic Religion, is that sort of opposition between the unity of the faith and the multiplicity of devotional practices. The latter are the outcome of centuries of Catholic life. In the course of years some of them burst into flower, others, on the contrary, decline and die. The

development, moreover, obeys certain laws, some of which are sufficiently curious. S. Joseph supplies a striking example of this : ' A saint of Scripture, the foster-father of Our Lord, he was an object of the universal and absolute faith of the Christian world from the first, yet the devotion to him is comparatively of late date.' But whether devotion follows close or afar, whether it blazes, or is in eclipse, or is even totally extinguished, it presupposes always, if it is true, a causal principle which is the object of faith. In considering the devotion to the Blessed Virgin, our first inquiry must be directed to the teaching of the *undivided* Church (to use Pusey's expression) on the subject of her prerogatives.

' What is the great rudimental teaching of Antiquity from its earliest date concerning her ? By " elemental teaching" I mean the *prima facie* view of her person and office, the broad outline laid down of her, the aspect under which she comes to us in the writings of the Fathers. She is the second Eve.' Now the first Eve had her place beside Adam in relation to the human race, of which she was to become the mother. She had her place, too, in the trial, the fall, and the punishment. But God had decreed the Redemption. The serpent, the woman, and the man were to meet again under different conditions ; the new Eve was to be the mother of the new Adam, and the serpent was to be vanquished. ' This interpretation, and the parallelism it involves, seem to me undeniable ; but at all events (and this is my point) the paral-

lelism is the doctrine of the Fathers, from the earliest times ; and, this being established, we are able, by the position and office of Eve in our fall, to determine the position and office of Mary in our restoration.'

The testimonies of S. Justin, S. Irenæus, and Tertullian show us Mary, not as a mere instrument, but as an intelligent and responsible cause. Just as Eve had co-operated in effecting a great evil, so Mary co-operated in effecting a much greater good. It should be noted also that the expressions used by these Fathers are very capable of bringing them under the reproach of transferring to Mary a rôle and titles which properly belong to her Son alone. But the *weight* of this testimony should be noticed even more than its *nature*. This doctrine about the Blessed Virgin did not emerge all of a piece from the brains of these three writers. In general ' writers after all are but witnesses of facts and beliefs ; ' but here in particular, how can we otherwise explain the almost simultaneous appearance of a doctrine, clothed in so striking an antithesis, in Palestine, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa, and in Rome, countries which the Fathers referred to would appear fully to represent. On the other hand no testimony exists, whether anterior, contemporary, or posterior to these, which in any way runs counter to the doctrine. S. Cyril, S. Ephren Syrus, S. Epiphanius, S. Jerome, S. Augustine, S. Peter Chrysologus, and S. Fulgentius, all one by one, and in the same sense, depose in favour of what may truly be called the faith of the *undivided* Church

From this rudimental teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin it is easy to deduce, by a wholly natural inference, the nature of her *sanctity* and of her *dignity*.

According to the Catholic doctrine, which is also held by many Anglicans and by Pusey in particular, our first parents were raised to the supernatural order, endowed with a principle of supernatural life, with a view to a supernatural destiny. Can Mary then be inferior to Eve ? She who was to co-operate in the Redemption of the world, is it possible that she was less fully endowed with divine gifts than she who co-operated in our ruin ? Is this not the meaning of the salutation addressed by the Angel to Mary, ' full of grace ' ? And if Eve had been created in a state of grace, why not Mary ? ' Well, this is simply and literally the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. I say the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is in its substance this, and nothing more than this (putting aside the question of degrees of grace) ; and it really does seem to me bound up in the doctrine of the Fathers, that Mary is the second Eve.' The repugnance to accept this doctrine arises without any doubt whatever from misunderstandings. In the first place, it is a grace which has reference to Mary, and to her alone, in the sense that with the human nature which she held from her parents, she received a plenitude of grace from the first moment of her existence. Thus would it have been with the descendants of our first parents, if these had not sinned. Hence ' Mary may be called, as it were, a daughter of Eve unfallen.'

Her case is essentially the same as that of S. John Baptist, save for a difference of six months. In the second place, the difficulty felt by Protestants arises from the simple fact that they have perverted the doctrine of original sin, which, according to them, is something positive, a change of our nature, while, according to Catholics, it is something negative, the deprivation of the state of grace, which is not due to our nature. Mary then has indeed the same nature as all other children of Adam, but she escaped the consequences of the sentence pronounced on the first sinner and his entire race, by an anticipated act of Redemption, due to the merits of Him of Whom she was to be the mother.

The opposition which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has met with, in the course of the ages, from Catholics themselves, may also be explained by misconceptions of its true and precise meaning. If it had always stood out as clearly defined as in the decree of 1854, ' I cannot believe that the doctrine would ever have been opposed ; for an instinctive sentiment has led Christians jealously to put the Blessed Mary aside when sin comes into discussion.' Newman does not overlook, and it is for him the only real objection, that three Fathers of the fourth century, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, and S. Cyril of Alexandria, were inclined to think that she had sinned venially or shown infirmity. He meets the attack directly. He quotes the relevant passages in extenso, and shows them to be simply essays in exegesis, tentative

opinions, ' much at variance with what we hold . . . solitary and singular in the writings of Antiquity ' running counter, in fact, to the whole stream of Apostolic Tradition, and ' having no controversial force at all.' And he adds :—' We admit, rather we maintain, that except for the grace of God, Mary might have sinned ; and that she may have been exposed to temptation in the sense in which Our Lord was exposed to it, though as his Divine Nature made it impossible for Him to yield to it, so His grace preserved her under its assaults also.'

The dignity of the Blessed Virgin is proportionate to the place which she occupies in the Redemption. ' Every nation has its mythical hymns and epics about its first fathers and heroes. The great deeds of Charlemagne, Alfred, Cœur de Lion, Louis the Ninth, Wallace, Joan of Arc, do not die ; and though their persons are gone from us, we make much of their names.' Such would have been our very first parents, if they had prevailed ; such are the saints ; such is Our Blessed Lord ; such His divine Mother. As regards her ' the only question is whether she had a part, a real part, in the economy of grace, whether, when she was on earth, she secured by her deeds any claim on our memories.' Does not the astonishment of Protestants arise from the fact that for the most part they have never calmly and attentively considered ' her historical position in the Gospels, so as rightly to realize . . . what that position imports ? ' On the other hand it is chiefly among Catholics that are met devotional energies applied to the contempla-

tion of Scripture facts in order to bring before their minds in a tangible form the doctrines involved in them. And it is ' a very bold step ' which Newman takes : ' I shall find the doctrine of Our Lady's present exaltation in Scripture. I shall find it in the vision of the Woman and Child in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse.'

He treats this point with consummate skill. He knows that such an application is but poorly supported by the Fathers ; but he knows too that ' Christians have never gone to Scripture for proof of their doctrines, till there was actual need, from the pressure of controversy,' which was not the case when ' the Blessed Virgin's dignity was unchallenged on all hands.' He recognizes that he will be charged with committing an anachronism in ascribing what might be called a picture of the Madonna to the Apostolic age, but he points out that Christian archæology has discovered in the Catacombs very ancient paintings of the Blessed Virgin ' with the Divine Infant in her lap, she with hands extended in prayer, He with His hand in the attitude of blessing. No representation can more forcibly convey the doctrine of the high dignity of the Mother, and, I will add, of her influence with her Son.' He does not deny that under the image of the Woman, S. John intended to signify the Church, but he maintains, that ' the Holy Apostle would not have spoken of the Church under this particular image, *unless* there had existed a Blessed Virgin Mary, who was exalted on high, and the object of veneration to all the

faithful.' The last pages of the Bible again summon before our eyes a scene which the first pages had already displayed to us ; for, in the Apocalyptic vision the serpent reappears, thus directly calling to our mind the first Eve, who was its victim, as well as the new Eve who was to bruise its head.

' Now I have said,' Newman declares, ' all I mean to say on what I have called the rudimental teaching of Antiquity about the Blessed Virgin ; but after all I have not insisted on the highest view of her prerogatives, which the Fathers have taught us. . . . I wished to show on how broad a basis her dignity rests, independent of that wonderful title, of the *Mother of God.* A startling title, nevertheless true ; defined as an object of faith by Ecumenical Council ; to be taken in its literal meaning, its ' well-weighed, grave, dogmatic sense.' ' God is her Son, as truly as any one of us is the son of his own mother. If this be so, what can be said of any creature whatever, which may not be said of her ? What can be said too much, so that it does not compromise the attributes of the Creator ? . . . It is this awful title, which both illustrates and connects together the two prerogatives of Mary . . . her sanctity and her greatness. It is the issue of her sanctity ; it is the origin of her greatness.' In the face of this Motherhood of hers, her Immaculate Conception and her Assumption are very simple things to accept ; and what are all the titles which are given her compared to that one name, Mother of God ?

This being the faith of the Fathers it was no wonder that it was translated into devotion ; and this faith and devotion went ever hand in hand and was ever growing. ' Little jealousy was shown of Our Lady in those times, but, when any such niggardliness of affection occurred, then one Father or other fell upon the offender, with zeal, not to say with fierceness. . . . On the other hand, each successive insult offered to her by individual adversaries did but bring out more fully the intimate sacred affection with which Christendom regarded her.'

A review however rapid of the Catholic doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin may not wholly omit her *intercessory power.* This is the immediate result of two truths, both admitted by Pusey, that it is good and useful to invoke the Saints, and that Blessed Mary is singularly dear to her Son and singularly exalted in sanctity and glory. If it is true that prayer is the very essence of all religion, it is no less true that in the Christian religion which is formed on prayer—as witness Pentecost, the miraculous deliverance of S. Peter, the teaching of S. Paul —prayer took on a new physiognomy ; it became the mystical bond which knit together all the faithful, a bond which death cannot break, which reaches beyond the tomb. It would indeed be preposterous to pray for those who are already in glory ; but at least they can pray for us, and we can ask their prayers. On this point two propositions are equally certain : ' Intercession is a first principle of the Church's life . . . the vital force of that intercession

as an availing power, is (according to the will of God), sanctity.' These truths which rest on Scripture, taken with those established above, lead to the obvious conclusion : ' I consider it impossible . . . for those who believe the Church to be one vast body in heaven and on earth, in which every holy creature of God has his place, and of which prayer is the life, when once they recognize the sanctity and dignity of the Blessed Virgin, not to perceive immediately, that her office is one of perpetual intercession for the faithful militant, and that our very relation to her must be that of clients to a patron, and that, in the eternal enmity which exists between the woman and the serpent, while the serpent's strength lies in being the Tempter, the weapon of the Second Eve, the Mother of God, is prayer.'

This idea of the intercessory power of Blessed Mary, which gained in fullness in proportion as her other attributes were brought into relief, has left its trace on the primitive literature and paintings of Christendom. It also suggests to Newman an incidental answer to the apparent astonishment which Pusey displays at the Antiphon in which it is said of Our Lady : ' All heresies thou hast destroyed alone.' ' Surely the truth of it is verified in this age, as in former times, and especially by the doctrine concerning her, on which I have been dwelling. She is the great exemplar of prayer in a generation, which emphatically denies the power of prayer *in toto*, which determines that fatal laws govern the universe, that there cannot be any com-

munication between earth and heaven, that God cannot visit His own earth, and that man cannot influence His providence.'

. . . . . .

Newman now takes up a new aspect of the problem, the reaction of devotion on belief. And first he gently reproaches Pusey for not appealing to the Fathers. 'Had you happened in your volume to introduce your notice of our teaching about the Blessed Virgin, with a notice of the teaching of the Fathers concerning her, which you follow, ordinary men would have considered that there was not much to choose between you and us . . . and Protestants would not have read you with such relish and gratitude.' Doubtless there is a real difference, but men of the world form a broad judgment of such things, and they would have said that, 'granting some of our modern writers go beyond the Fathers in this matter, still the lines cannot logically be drawn between the teaching of the Fathers concerning the Blessed Virgin and our own.'

And this is the very point which Newman now examines. 'It is impossible, I say, in a doctrine like this, to draw the line clearly between truth and error, right and wrong.' Motion is a law of everything which is concrete, of everything which has life ; and this is true of the material as it is of the spiritual world ; but the limits of this motion vary : towards perfection, but also towards decline and death, it may lead to crescence but also to excrescence, to development but also to excess or to a deviation from the true type. And this is specially

the case with great ideas, in face of which there are but two courses open ; to stifle them, which is a radical measure of forestalling this possible excess, or to let them live on, content to expose and restrain those excesses after they have occurred. ' For myself, I prefer much wherever it is possible, to be first generous and then just ; to grant full liberty of thought, and to call it to account when abused.'

This principle is most applicable to religious ideas, which have so powerful an effect on our sentiment. ' Of all passions love is the most unmanageable ; nay more, I would not give much for that love which is never extravagant, which always observes the proprieties, and can move about in perfect good taste, under all emergencies.' So it is with devotional feelings ; what has power to stir holy and refined souls is potent also with the multitude, ' and the religion of the multitude is ever vulgar and abnormal ; it ever will be tinctured with fanaticism and superstition, while men are what they are. . . . You may beat religion out of men, if you will, and then their excess will take a different direction ; but if you make use of religion to improve them, they will make use of religion to corrupt it. And then you will have effected that compromise of which our countrymen report so unfavourably from abroad :—a high grand faith and worship which compels their admiration, and puerile absurdities among the people which excite their contempt.' Nor is it any safeguard against these excesses that the religion is based upon reason, and

develops into a theology. 'Theology both uses logic and baffles it ; and thus logic acts both for the protection and for the perversion of religion.' Theology is occupied with the Supernatural, and every line of thought leads to those dim abysses, which are the mysteries which reason can neither explain nor adjust. The reasoning faculty must therefore be on its guard. The solid good sense and large view of truth of which the Councils have given proof, are alone capable of avoiding false steps and a fall. But these are rare gifts ; 'whereas all men are bound to be devout, and most men busy themselves in arguments and inferences.'

In any event, the abuse of a thing presupposes its use. So abuses or excesses in the devotion to the Blessed Virgin presuppose this devotion, and it is this devotion which Newman with a firm and loving hand, and with full artistry, sets on its true base. The Apostles cast upon the world two great ideas : God was made man ; God has a Mother. Two entirely distinct ideas : Jesus is God brought down to us ; Mary is a woman raised up to God. The Word made flesh remains God ; Mary, become the Mother of God, remains woman. The first result is that the relations between God and ourselves have not changed. God remains what He was before, what may be expressed in one word, the Father, in order of nature and in that of grace. 'Mary is only our mother by divine appointment, given us from the Cross ; her presence is above, not on earth ; her office is external, not within us. Her name is not

heard in the administration of the Sacraments. Her work is not one of ministration towards us ; her power is indirect. It is her prayers that avail, and her prayers are effectual by the *fiat* of Him who is our all in all,' and through whom, also, she is made aware of the prayers which we make to her.

There is therefore a greatness reserved for God, and for Jesus, because He is God. To assign this to Mary would be an encroachment. But on the other hand, there is a place reserved for Mary. To bring Our Lord down to it would be to drag Him from His throne. ' Our Lord cannot pray for us, as a creature prays, as Mary prays ; He cannot inspire those feelings which a creature inspires. To her belongs, as being a creature, a natural claim on our sympathy and familiarity, in that she is nothing else than our fellow. She is our pride,—in the poet's words, "Our tainted nature's solitary boast".' The figure of Mary at the hour of her Assumption, ' so weak, yet so strong ; so delicate, yet so glorious ; so modest, yet so mighty,' evokes in Newman's mind an historic scene and ' the strange emotion which took by surprise men and women, young and old, when, at the coronation of Queen Victoria, they gazed on the figure of one so like a child, so small, so tender, so shrinking, who had been exalted to so great an inheritance and so vast a rule, who was such a contrast in her own person to the solemn pageant which centred in her.' Does not a like emotion grip our hearts at the sight of Mary ? And did not God know our hearts, when He made Mary what she is ?

'If it be idolatry in us to let our affections respond to our faith,' it is, to speak boldly, God Himself who has perverted us; 'but, far from this, He has sent His Prophet to announce to us, "A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel," and we have the same warrant for hailing her as God's Mother, as we have for adoring Him as God.'

But if this is told us, and clearly told, it is almost all that is told us. 'Christianity is eminently an objective religion. For the most part it tells of persons and facts in simple words, and leaves that announcement to produce its effects on such hearts as are prepared to receive it.' The foundations are solidly laid, and noiselessly rises and extends the edifice. So is it with the devotion to Our Lady. Nothing is more natural than that in times and places it should have fallen into abuse, or even become a superstition. Newman does not ignore this, and indeed has already established the law governing such cases. But he knows too the danger there is of exaggeration, if one does not place oneself at the right point of view. This is why he prefaces the few words which seem to him sufficient on the subject of 'Catholic excesses in Devotion to the Blessed Virgin' by a few remarks aimed at explaining and dissipating certain 'Anglican misconceptions.'

The first is purely personal. Newman knows that Pusey has as it were veiled under his objections the love and respect which he himself feels for the Blessed Virgin; and he says this that Catholics may

have a better idea of Pusey, and Anglicans a better idea of Catholics.

The second emphasizes, and rightly, the fact that the Greek Church, so large in numbers, so independent, so long separated, so jealous for Antiquity, surpasses the Latin Church in its devotion to Mary. 'To make a rule of substituting Mary with all Saints for Jesus in the public service, has more "Mariolatry" in it, than to alter the Te Deum to her honour in private devotion.'

The third is aimed at the time-honoured accusation brought up again by Pusey. 'Two large views . . . are opened upon our devotional thoughts in Christianity; the one centering in the Son of Mary the other in the Mother of Jesus. Neither need obscure the other, and in the Catholic Church, as a matter of fact, neither does.' Protestants say that this must happen, because they are steeped in the prejudice that this *must necessarily* happen. Newman is perfectly ready to accept the rebuke, if it be supported by good proof. Unfortunately these seem to tell in the opposite direction. 'If we look through Europe, we shall find, on the whole, that just those nations and countries have lost their faith in the divinity of Christ, who have given up devotion to His Mother. . . In the Catholic Church Mary has shown herself, not the rival, but the minister of her Son; she has protected Him, as in His infancy, so in the whole history of the Religion.' The same conclusion is suggested by the Saints. For example, S. Alfonso Liguori and S. Paul of the Cross, for all their notorious devotion to the Mother,

have also shown their supreme love of her Divine Son, as the very names of the Congregations which they founded prove. Nor does the personal devotion of Catholic populations sound another note. Protestants who see in our churches the Statues of Our Lady surrounded by the faithful, forget the Tabernacle in which the Host dwells, and have not seen these same faithful at early Mass, and perhaps communicating at it. Lastly, since Pusey has quoted Father Faber as an example of one having exaggerated devotion towards the Blessed Virgin, would it not be mere justice to ascertain whether he had not written on other themes? Has he not written on the Blessed Sacrament; is he not the author of 'All for Jesus;' and of some superb lines whose theme is precisely the necessary reciprocity of the respective devotions to Mother and Son?

In his fourth remark Newman gives Pusey a little lesson in criticism. The latter had undertaken a minutely detailed investigation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, had catalogued the bishops who wrote to the Holy See, and analysed their replies. It is a pity that he had not been equally precise in the case of those writers who, according to him, were to be blamed for their exaggerated devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He cites them in the lump and without giving any details, and hence 'they inflict a vague alarm upon the mind, as when one hears a noise, and does not know whence it comes and what it means.' But they must be put in their proper place. The majority are

of no celebrity or weight. Some indeed are saints, and among these S. Alfonso Liguori. ' But it never surprises me to read anything extraordinary in the devotions of a saint. Such men are on a level very different from our own, and we cannot understand them. I hold this to be an important canon in the lives of the Saints.' Strangest of all, however, is that all the writers, with the exception of Faber, are foreigners ; but, since devotions vary with the time and country, their sayings are hardly pertinent to the dispute. As for England, the good sense of the faithful protects them from exaggerations. Of these, moreover, there is no trace in books of devotion which are really popular, and ' to which Anglicans ought to appeal, who would be fair to us in this matter. I do not observe anything in them which goes beyond the teaching of the Fathers, except so far as devotion goes beyond doctrine.'

Having laid down all these principles, drawn all these distinctions, in one word having lit the light which should clear away obscurities and misunderstandings, Newman at the very end, and the procedure is extraordinarily clever, gives his views on the passages attacked by Pusey, and the only ones which deserve to be. He frankly confesses himself troubled and almost angered by some of them. Yet after all these are but very few in number. Many others are true in one sense, false in another ; for instance, that prayer (and the Blessed Virgin's prayer) is omnipotent ; or that Mary is the centre of all things. Others are false in the abstract and if applied to universal conditions, but true when

limited to particular circumstances of time, or place, or persons, as for instance the need in a given case of explicit devotion to Our Lady. And thus some expressions, though it may not always be easy to prove them false, may be excessive and give rise to a suspicion that they are false, as ' so often happens in our courts of Law, when the commission of an offence is morally certain, but . . . the legal evidence is not sufficient to insure conviction.' The Holy See can always intervene, and it does so sometimes ; but in the generality of cases Catholic public opinion is quite sufficient to put excesses down. Moreover, the great theologians have delivered their protest in advance, and have warned against extravagance in the devotion to the Blessed Virgin. Newman, therefore, without any hesitation, as matters in which neither his heart nor reason have a part, rejects a certain number of expressions as having an ill sound, ' when taken,' as he wisely remarks, ' in their literal and absolute sense, as any Protestant would naturally take them, but as the writers doubtless did not use them,' or again as found in Pusey's letter, separate from their original context, which very probably explains them. He disapproves of them then, and this because he can find no warrant for them either in Scripture, or in the Fathers, or in the Councils, or in the Schoolmen, or in the tradition of the faithful, or in any of the books of solid piety with which he is acquainted. He sees no good in them either for himself, for he does not see what spiritual profit is to be drawn from them, or for the Blessed Virgin herself ; for ' I

should but be guilty of fulsome frigid flattery towards the most upright and noble of God's creatures, if I professed them,—and of stupid flattery too, for it would be like the compliment of painting up a young and beautiful princess with the brow of a Plato and the muscle of an Achilles.'

Newman has said what he had to say. Before bringing his letter to a conclusion, however, he expostulates with his friend on the tone of his letter, which has all the appearance of a rude attack on a point on which Catholic devotion is very sensitive. It is therefore not in the least to be wondered at that Catholics should misconceive of the root idea and object of the letter, and that the offer of union with Rome, which Pusey declares to be possible on certain conditions, should be met with a refusal, ' because in truth, the honour of Our Lady is dearer to them than the Conversion of England.'

II

In his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* Newman touches incidentally on the Cult of the Blessed Virgin. ' It frequently happens,' he says, that ' omissions proceed on some law, as the varying influence of an external cause. . . . Christians were not likely to entertain the question of the abstract allowableness of images in the Catholic ritual, with the actual superstitions and immoralities of paganism before their eyes. Nor were they likely to determine the place of the Blessed Mary in our reverence, before they had duly secured, in

the affections of the Faithful, the supreme glory and worship of God Incarnate, her Eternal Lord and Son.'*

A few pages farther on, among examples chosen to illustrate these principles, Newman takes up the subject again. The Arian Controversy ' discovered a new sphere, if we may so speak, in the realms of light, to which the Church had not yet assigned its inhabitant.' To call Our Lord Creator of the Universe and God of the Evangelical Covenant, was not enough, in as much as they did not call Him simply ' God,' ' not enough, because it was not all, and between all and anything short of all, there was an infinite interval.' It was this restriction which condemned Arius. But it showed to what heights a creature could attain, without derogating from the supreme majesty of the Creator. On this lofty throne the Catholic Church sees Blessed Mary seated. ' The votaries of Mary do not exceed the true faith, unless the blasphemers of her Son came up to it. The Church of Rome is not idolatrous unless Arianism is orthodoxy.' Later the controversy round Nestorius, who denied the Incarnation, brought out the complement of the doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin, of which the Arian controversy had suggested the commencement. It ' supplied the subject, if I may so speak, of that august proposition of which Arianism had provided the predicate.' The Council of Ephesus determined the Blessed Virgin to be the Mother of God, and that she therefore had the right to that place reserved to

* Chap. III. Sect. II. No. 9 (Edition of 1900).

the first of creatures. 'Thus all heresies of that day, though opposite to each other, tended in a most wonderful way to her exaltation.' This definition was nevertheless only the official seal set on a belief as old as Christianity itself. Newman quotes at length the titles with which the Fathers have decked the name of Mary. Some 'are oratorical expressions; but we use oratory on great subjects, not on small.'*

III

In the *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations* there are two sermons† on the cult of the Blessed Virgin. Both form an *apologia;* the first, taking a particular case, is an answer to the principal difficulty felt by Protestants; the second deals with the subject more generally and meets the needs of reason itself.

The great reproach directed against Mary by Protestants is that she obscures Jesus. The leading idea of the first sermon and the scope of its apologetic may be conveyed by the simple statement of its title, *The Glories of Mary for the sake of her Son* (*For the sake of* are here the significant words and lay down the final motive). The natural order forms a cosmos or harmonious whole, in which

* *Ibid.* Ch. IV. Sect. II. Nos. 8-12. Chapter X. Sect. i, Sect. 4, *The Office of the Blessed Virgin;* and Sect. ii, *Devotion to the Blessed Virgin,* only state succintly some of the ideas developed in the Letters to Pusey.

† Discourses XVII and XVIII. (Longmans, Edition of 1893).

'nothing is superfluous, nothing incomplete, nothing independent; but part answers to part, and all details combine to form one mighty whole.' Every thing is subjected to laws, but it is only in proportion to our observation and research that this truth becomes apparent; and 'the words "chance," and "hazard," and "fortune" have come into use as expressions of our ignorance.' So too the astonishment felt when looking out over nature and the criticisms directed at its Author, are in general but evidence of a want of scientific education. The supernatural order is similarly organized. 'The great truths of Revelation are all connected together and form a whole. . . . To understand the full consistency and harmony of Catholic teaching requires study and meditation.' Here too it is ignorance which accuses, which judges and condemns. These general principles are applicable to the prerogatives with which the Church invests the Virgin Mother of God. 'The more carefully and religiously they are dwelt on, the more, I am sure, will they be found essential to the Catholic faith, and integral to the worship of Christ. . . . The glories of Mary are for the sake of Jesus; and we praise and bless her as the first of creatures, that we may duly confess Him as our sole Creator.' These prerogatives may be gathered under three principal heads: her motherhood, her sanctity, and her power.

The grand design of God, the Incarnation, with all that this word implies: God *and* man, One Person in two natures, 'is a mystery so marvellous, so

difficult, that faith alone firmly receives it; the natural man may receive it for a while, may think he receives it, but never really receives it; begins, directly he has professed it, secretly to rebel against it, evades it, or revolts from it.' Thus did the first heretics, even in the lifetime of the beloved disciple; so in general do Protestants, if their equivocations and reticences are sifted to the bottom. To make head against these negations, to bring into full relief the Catholic conception of God incarnate, 'could you do it better than by laying down in S. John's words that "God *became*" man? And could you express this again more emphatically and unambiguously than by declaring that He was *born* a man, or that He had a *Mother?* . . . The revealed doctrine forthwith takes its true shape and receives an historical reality. . . . Dreams are broken and shadows depart; the truth of God is no longer a poetical expression, or a devotional exaggeration, or a mystical dispensation, or a mythical view.' The spirit of negation, once repulsed in the name of the *Deipara*, turns its attack on her, when it returns to the assault, knowing full well that, 'if it could once get the world to dishonour the Mother, the dishonour of the Son would follow close. The Church and Satan agreed together in this, that Son and Mother went together; and the experience of three centuries has confirmed their testimony; for Catholics who have honoured the Mother, still worship the Son, while Protestants who have ceased to confess the Son, had begun by scoffing at the Mother.' Thus the harmony of Revelation is

made manifest. The glory of Mary is directed towards Jesus, for, being a creature, her end must be God. Her office is that of guardian of the Incarnation, at this and at all times, as once she was the guardian of the God-Child.

But, if Mary is the Mother of God, she must be something else too, and, so to speak, something more. If she is to impress upon us that God was made man, then she herself must be made to fill our mind. If she is to witness to God before the world, her station must be a high and eminent one ; she must make us exclaim : ' Why should she have such prerogatives, unless He be God ? and what must He be by nature, when she is so high by grace ? ' She is all pure, all powerful, but she is this only that she may better perform her office, better minister to Christ.

We may, therefore, and should apply to Mary, in spite of apparent difficulties in the text, the words of Jesus : ' Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it.' Mary was indeed blessed in her Motherhood, but she was still more so in her personal sanctity. The latter, we may say, was dearer to her than the former. Inspired by God, she was the first among the daughters of Israel to dedicate her virginity to Him ; and it was only after the angel had given the assurance that the mystery which he had come to announce would respect her vow, that she put aside her ' trouble ' of mind, that she bowed her head in awe and thankfulness to God's condescension. ' Mary then is a specimen, and more than a specimen, in the purity of her soul and

body, of what man was before his fall, and would have been, had he risen to his perfection.' We know that there was a state of original justice, followed so closely by one of deprivation. But God had decreed an act of reparation. The King of Heaven was to see His Son born of our race, and He was in no degree unfaithful to the tradition of generosity with which the kings of the earth signalized so joyful an event. 'The coming of Emmanuel did not innovate on the world's established custom. It was a season of grace and prodigy, and these were to be exhibited in a special manner in the person of His Mother. . . . A gate of light to be opened amid the darkness, for the coming of the Just.' From the point of view of nature there was nothing to distinguish Mary from the rest of mankind ; but from that of grace ' she began where others end, whether in knowledge or in love. She was from the first clothed in sanctity, sealed for perseverance, luminous and glorious in God's sight, and incessantly employed in meritorious acts, which continued till her last breath.' And if she was thus *gratia plena*, it was that she might have the power worthily to be *ancilla Domini*.

As Mother of God and wholly spotless, Mary should be, and is, all-powerful. The friends of God, as Scripture tells us again and again, have influence with Him. ' Is it then strange that the Mother should have power with the Son, distinct in kind from that of the purest Angel and the most triumphant Saint ? ' Newman does not elaborate the point. He has no intention to prove what the Church

teaches and what his hearers believe. He has only wanted to indicate, in one particular point, the beauty and harmony of that teaching. But this, when it concerns the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, is significant, not only in its tenor, but also in the manner in which the Church puts it forward. Here too, as we shall see, everything is subordinated to the glory of Christ.

During the whole of the public life of her Son, Blessed Mary remains in the background, hardly appears. There is the same self-effacement after the Ascension, she neither preaches nor teaches. She is taken up to heaven and is crowned Queen there ; the same thing happens, still she shows no eagerness that men should publish her name abroad and honour it. She waits for the moment when her own glory shall be necessary for that of her Son. And afterwards when she no longer has to fight for Him, she does not dream of fighting for herself, she leaves her sweet influence to grow in silence, like the cedar of Lebanus, as the cypress in Mount Sion, until there should burst open, as if of itself, the splendid flower of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Fitness of the Glories of Mary is the subject of a sermon of a more general apologetical interest. This principle of *fitness* seems to have been laid down by Our Lord himself in his words to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus : ' *Ought not* Christ to suffer these things, and so to enter into His glory ? ' ' It is a great evidence of truth, in the case of revealed teaching, that it is so consistent,

that it so hangs together, that one thing springs out of another, that each part requires and is required by the rest.' The cult of the Blessed Virgin is subject to this principle. It is sufficient ' to state what the Church has taught and defined from the first ages concerning the Blessed Virgin, and then you will see how naturally the devotion which her children show her, and the praises with which they honour her, flow from it.'

Mother of God ! This has been the title by which the Church has acclaimed Mary since the earliest times ; she was in the literal sense the Mother of the Word, who took in her womb the substance of His humanity, who was tended by her, who was subject to her, who lived for thirty years with her in the intimacy of the same dwelling. ' Now what ought she to be, what is it *becoming* that she should be, who was so favoured ? ' It is the very question put by Ahasuerus :—' What shall be done to the man whom the King desireth to honour ? ' And the answer is identical. Nothing is too high for him ; ' nothing is too high for her to whom God owes His life ; no exuberance of grace, no excess of glory but is becoming, but is to be expected there, where God has lodged Himself, whence God has issued.' This is the conclusion to which our reason would lead us, even in the absence of all direct revelation.

The same conclusion follows from yet another principle, from what has been ' the ordinary rule of God's dealings with us, that personal sanctity should be the attendant upon high spiritual dignity of place or worth.' The angels and the Prophets

illustrate this law, and if it suffers some apparent exceptions, these only prove that God does what He wills, and that He is able to draw good from evil. But the law is on that account not the less approved by reason and proved by facts ; and it is very specially applicable to the Blessed Virgin, above all when we consider the permanence of her relations with the Eternal Word. She ' was no mere instrument in God's dispensation. . . . The Word . . . imbibed, He sucked up her blood and her substance with His Divine Person ; He became man of her ; and received her lineaments and her features as the semblance and character under which He should manifest Himself to the world.' The sanctity of Mary comes not only from the fact that she is His Mother, but also that He is her Son. Hence the titles with which we salute her. He is the Divine Wisdom, she is the Seat of Wisdom ; His presence is Heaven, she is the Gate of Heaven ; He is Infinite Mercy, she is the Mother of Mercy.

These principles being established, what other conclusion is possible save that no limit but those of created nature can be assigned to the Sanctity of Mary ; that she surpasses the saints of the old dispensation in that very perfection in which each of them excelled, whether Abraham, Judith, Samuel, Solomon, or S. John the Baptist ? ' Mary must surpass all the Saints ; the very fact that certain privileges are known to have been theirs, proves to us at once from, the necessity of the case, that she had the same and higher. Her conception was immaculate, in order that she might surpass all the

Saints in the date as well as the fulness of her sanctification.' In glory too, as her Assumption proves. On this, of which the liturgical cycle had brought round the feast, Newman enlarges a little, and considers it especially from the doctrinal point of view. Here too the law of fitness applies. 'It was surely fitting, it was becoming, that she should be taken up into heaven and not lie in the grave till Christ's second coming, who had passed a life of sanctity and of miracle such as hers.' There is a divine harmony a divine fulness, in all which God does ; nothing is incongruous, nothing unfinished. A miracle does not run counter to the natural order, but adds to it a supernatural perfection. A miracle is wrought for some great end, and others must follow it till that end is achieved. 'Now this applies to the history of Our Lady. I say, it would be a greater miracle, if, her life being what it was, her death was like that of other men, than if it were such as to correspond with her life.' She had been preserved from all spot, to become the Mother of God. But God died for us. She too then must die ; but, for her, death stopped there. It was but an episode, a transition, of an essentially private nature. Her Son died for the world, in the full sight of the world. 'But she, the Lily of Eden, who had always dwelt out of the sight of man, fittingly did she die in the garden's shade, and amid the sweet flowers in which she had lived. Her departure made no noise in the world.' As to what followed, whatever judgment may be passed on the details handed down by tradition, 'so much cannot be doubted, from the consent

of the whole Catholic world and the revelations made to holy souls, that, as is befitting, she is, soul and body, with her Son and God in heaven, and that we have to celebrate, not only her death, but her Assumption.'*

* See also Newman's. *Meditations and Devotions* under the Month of Mary.

CHAPTER VI

INFALLIBILITY

THE question of Infallibility naturally resolves itself into two others : Is the Church infallible ? —What is the depository of infallibility ? The latter in particular brings, or rather brought, into question the Sovereign Pontiff and his teaching office. Newman has treated these two questions, the first at the end of the *Apologia*,* the second in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*.† In this we again find the personal touch and the lofty ideas which quicken and elevate every subject which he discusses.

I

The history of Newman's religious opinions ends with his conversion, in the sense that ' he has had no variations to record, and has had no anxiety of heart whatever.' His conversion did not introduce any change, intellectual or moral, into his mind, ' it was

* Chap. V, pp. 238-269. (Edition of 1893).

† In *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Vol. II. pp. 173 378. (Edition of 1892).

like coming into port after a rough sea.' He had no trouble about receiving those articles which are not found in the Anglican creed ; nor had he any trouble in believing them then or at the time when he wrote. This is not to say that every article of the Catholic Creed, and of the Protestant too, is not beset with difficulties ; but ' ten thousand difficulties do not make one doubt . . . difficulty and doubt are incommensurate.'

But it is not only the Creed of his new Church which is in question, it is this Church herself. For she is not only a Creed, she is a communion, a system ; and, if we are to believe Newman's accusers, a system which is fundamentally evil, because it is utterly lacking in truth. And this, according to them, follows necessarily from the pretention of that Church to infallibility, to the hold she has on the minds of its members, a hold which checks all enthusiasm in them, and reduces them to a state of stagnation or of hypocrisy.

Why should there be an infallible authority which claims to speak in God's name, and exacts obedience ? Or again why should God have instituted such an authority ? In truth, the sublime function of speaking in the name of God, Who is Truth, in order to instruct men in the truth, demands an infallible teaching office, which can deceive neither itself nor us. But to Newman the question appears under another light. Never a lover of abstractions, he as far as possible resorts to the concrete. It is not humanity in general which he has in view and which he visualizes, but humanity

such as it is, *fallen* humanity. And this is his point of departure.

God exists. Newman is as certain of this as of his own existence. But when he looks out of himself into the world of men, he is filled with an unspeakable distress. 'The world seems simply to give the lie to the great truth. . . . If I looked into a mirror, and did not see my face, I should have the sort of feeling which actually comes upon me, when I look into the busy world, and see no reflection of its Creator. This is, to me, one of those great difficulties of this absolute primary truth.' Humanity such as it is, such as he evokes in a passage of sombre eloquence, humanity with its divisions, its littlenesses, its sufferings, its sins, its irreligion, 'all this is a vision to dizzy and appal ; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution.' And to this picture of the human race he draws a parallel : 'Did I see a boy of good make and mind, with the tokens on him of a refined nature, cast upon the world without provision, unable to say whence he came, his birth-place or his family connexions, I should conclude that there was some mystery connected with his history, and that he was one, of whom, from one cause or other, his parents were ashamed. . . . And so I argue about the world ;—*if* there be a God, *since* there is a God, the human race is implicated in some terrible aboriginal calamity. . . . And the doctrine of what is theologically called original sin becomes to me almost as certain as that the world exists, and as the existence of God.'

What is now to be said of reason, not considered in the abstract, with its natural power of attaining to the truth and, in a certain measure, to the divine ; but of reason as it has revealed itself in fact, historically, in fallen man ? ' I do not think I am wrong in saying that its tendency is towards a simple unbelief in matters of religion.' In the pagan world, in those parts where the intellect had been active and had had a career, it had ended in agnosticism. In the world of to-day, outside the Catholic Church, is not the tendency, and even more markedly than of old, towards atheism in one shape or other ? Various expedients have been attempted to stem the tide, ' as a breakwater to a deluge,' but without success. The Bible itself is powerless ; it is however but a book, and ' a book, after all, cannot make a stand against the wild living intellect of man, and in this day it begins to testify, as regards its own structure and contents, to the power of that universal solvent.'

Supposing then it be the will of God, in His goodness, to intervene, what means will He employ to make the truths of Religion proof against scepticism ? Without questioning for a moment the infinite treasures of His Wisdom and the possibility of other means, it is certain that the institution of an infallible authority recommends itself by the fact that it is perfectly suited to the need. ' And when I find that this is the very claim of the Catholic Church, not only do I feel no difficulty in admitting the idea, but there is a fitness in it, which recommends it to my mind. . . . I say, that a power,

possessed of infallibility in religious teaching, is happily adapted to be a working instrument, in the course of human affairs, for smiting hard and throwing back the immense energy of the aggressive, capricious, untrustworthy intellect.'

If we notice that the Church has been vested with this power towards the human race for two opposite motives, because of the forfeiture of grace, and for its restoration : forfeiture caused by sin, restoration which aims at lifting human nature to a level higher than its own, it follows that the Church must protest against the existing state of mankind, rebellion, sin, as the greatest of evils ; she must also energetically insist on the distinction between nature and grace, and between religion which is purely outward and religion which is truly inward. Newman, since he is writing not a treatise but an apology, must needs remind the reader of these truths, though they be, as he remarks, but the preamble of Infallibility. And in recalling them he was able to throw light on certain statements of his, which though perfectly true, seemed nevertheless to have frightened and scandalized his opponents.

' This power, viewed in its fulness, is as tremendous as the giant evil which has called for it.' The Church, which claims to be invested with it, claims by the very fact, and when it is brought into exercise, to know for certain the very meaning of every portion of that Divine Message in detail, which was committed by Our Lord to His Apostles. It claims to know its own limits, and to determine what is within its jurisdiction ; it claims to have a hold

upon matters not directly religious, and to pronounce whether or not, in a particular case, they are simply consistent with well revealed truth. It claims to decide magisterially, whether as within its own province or not, that such and such propositions are or are not prejudicial to the *Depositum* of faith, in their spirit or in their consequences, and to allow them, or condemn them, accordingly. It claims to impose silence at will on any matters, or controversies, or doctrine which it pronounces to be dangerous or inopportune, and to exact, in the event, at least every outward mark of reverence, submission, and loyalty ; and it claims to have the right of inflicting spiritual punishment, of cutting off and excommunicating those who refuse to submit themselves to its formal declarations.

Newman, for his part, accepts the whole revealed dogma as taught by the Apostles and committed by them to the Church. He accepts the infallible interpretation placed upon it by the Church, and the universally received traditions, ' in which lies the matter of those new dogmatic definitions which are from time to time made, and which in all times are the clothing and the illustration of the Catholic dogma as already defined.' He submits himself to those other decisions of the Holy See, whatever be their nature, and however little they may demand obedience. Lastly, he is aware that Catholic thought has gradually thrown itself into the form of a science, with a method and a phraseology of its own, and he feels ' no temptation at all to break in pieces the great legacy of thought ' bequeathed to us

by such great minds as S. Athanasius, S. Augustine, and S. Thomas.

An objection here takes shape of itself, as it were : Under the action of machinery so powerful, reason is not only brought into order, it is crushed. But this is far from being the case. A result so extreme would neither be worthy of Providence, nor conformable to the human intellect ' with its tough elastic strength,' nor can it be verified in history. Religious activity obeys two great principles, Authority and Private Judgment. Protestant writers, and how many others ! claim to have all the latter to themselves, and to leave to Catholics the full and sole enjoyment of the former. There is nothing further from the truth. Every exercise of infallibility is brought about under the impulse of reason, both as its ally and as its opponent. ' Catholic Christendom is no simple exhibition of religious absolutism, but presents a continuous picture of Authority and Private Judgment alternately advancing and retreating as the ebb and flow of the tide. . . . The object [of Infallibility] is, and its effect also, not to enfeeble the freedom or vigour of human thought in religious speculation, but to resist and control its extravagance. What have been its great works ? All of them in the distinct province of theology :—To put down Arianism, Eutychianism, Pelagianism, Manichæism, Lutheranism, Jansenism. Such is the broad result of its action in the past ; —and now as to the securities which are given us that so it will ever act in time to come.'

'First, Infallibility cannot act outside a definite circle of thought. . . . The great truths of the moral law, of natural religion, and of Apostolic faith, are both its boundary and its foundation.' It must ever be guided by Scripture and Tradition. Properly speaking there can never be a new truth, but only a new presentation of an old truth, easy therefore of acceptance, perhaps already accepted. Newman takes as an example the Immaculate Conception, which, according to Protestants, constitutes the greatest doctrinal difficulty to Catholics, and declares that he simply cannot see the slightest difficulty in it ; and if this is true of him, why not of a hundred, a thousand others ? He knows moreover that all Catholics feel the same. Yet, exclaim Protestants, they ought to have difficulties on this point. The fact is that they have none, and for a very good reason, namely that 'Catholics have not come to believe it because it is defined, but that it was defined because they believed it.' And this is the explanation of the universal enthusiasm with which it was received.

This quite recent dogmatic definition suggests another reflection. 'The number of those (so called) new doctrines will not oppress us, if it takes eight centuries to promulgate even one of them.' The total number of General Councils gives an average of one to a century, and of these some passed no doctrinal decree at all, others but a single one. The Council of Trent certainly embraced a large field of doctrine but its 'decrees are not isolated from each other, but are occupied in bringing out in detail, by

a number of separate declarations, as if into bodily form, a few necessary truths.' One can say as much of the theological censures and decisions promulgated by the Popes. Their large number might give a deceptive impression, but in fact, for the most part, they simply condemn certain capital errors, and 'express what any good Catholic, of fair abilities, though unlearned, would say for himself, from common and sound sense, if the matter could be put before him.'

Infallibility, considered as acting within its own strictly theological domain, does not then raise any serious difficulty whether by reason of the number or the quality of its decrees. But it goes beyond this domain : it extends to subjects which are in themselves foreign to it. Now it must first be noted that 'it most reasonably has such a jurisdiction. It could not act in its own province, unless it had a right to act out of it. It could not properly defend religious truth, without claiming for that truth what may be called *pomœria* ; or, to take another illustration, without acting as we act, as a nation, in claiming as our own, not only the land on which we live, but what are called British waters.' Newman admits that this *is* the great 'trial of reason,' when confronted with that august prerogative of the Catholic Church, but he is ready to say what he thinks in all sincerity. And first, 'in this province, taken as a whole, it does not so much speak doctrinally, as enforce measures of discipline.' We have here therefore a question of obedience, which may only be temporary, not one of faith, which is true

for all time. Newman also makes allowances for possible and real abuses. ' I think that history supplies us with instances in the Church, where legitimate power has been harshly used.' But then, this is a weakness natural to all governments, and one which Protestants can find among themselves, and this without even having to look very hard for it.

Having made these concessions, the fact remains no less, that, ' in spite of all that the most hostile critic may urge about the encroachments or severities of high ecclesiastics in the past . . . the event has shown after all, that they were mainly in the right, and that those whom they were hard upon were mainly in the wrong.' Clearly the causes which may provoke the intervention of the power are numerous and diverse, but one of them in particular was brought home to Newman, while he was yet an Anglican, in the course of his historical studies ; ' how the initial error of what afterwards became heresy was the urging forward some truth against the prohibition of authority at an unseasonable time.' Time is not a negligible quantity, but there are men who do not know how to wait. Their impatience is explained by their good intentions ; a man may desire the reformation of an abuse, the development of a doctrine, or the adoption of a particular policy, ' but he forgets to ask himself whether the right time for it is come : and knowing that there is no one who will be doing anything towards its accomplishment in his own life time unless he does it himself, he will not listen to the voice of authority, and he spoils a good work in his own cen-

tury, in order that another man, as yet unborn, may not have the opportunity of bringing it happily to perfection in the next.' The Church imposes silence on such men, as is her right and her duty so to do ; and there will be a few more names to add to the mendacious martyrology of free thought. It seems —but only in appearance—that Authority deliberately refuses to make religion more accessible, or to remedy very real evils, and it is this apparent attitude which afflicts moderate minds and zealous hearts. The question moreover is always coming up, and to-day it takes the form of the relation between science and faith.

The marvellous advances made in modern days have their reverberations in the sphere of religion, and ' the question arises how are the respective claims of revelation and of natural science to be adjusted. Few minds in earnest can remain at ease without some sort of rational grounds for their religious belief ; to reconcile theory and fact is almost an instinct of the mind.' And it is not to be denied that many well instructed and moreover sincerely religious Catholics ' are simply perplexed —frightened or rendered desperate, as the case may be,—by the utter confusion into which late discoveries or speculations have thrown their most elementary ideas of religion.' Of these sorely tried brethren Newman speaks with a kind of moved tenderness ; he makes himself the interpreter of the desire felt by so many that there should rise up a champion of the faith. Many persons, and not only Catholics, had urged him to undertake this glorious

part. But the task seemed to him fraught with too many difficulties, of which the principal was the very instability of that scientific knowledge, which, still in a state of growth, advancing by fits and starts, is ever changing its hypotheses. ' In this condition of things, it has seemed to me to be very undignified for a Catholic to commit himself to the work of chasing what might turn out to be phantoms, and, in behalf of some special objections, to be ingenious in devising a theory, which, before it was completed, might have to give place to some theory newer still, from the fact that those former objections had already come to nought under the uprising of others.' To be patient is what is needed ; and also to exhort the weak to bring a little faith and courage to their aid; and finally to beware of dangerous steps. The Church advises and even orders abstention ; it is the true wisdom. ' And so far from finding a difficulty in obeying in this case, I have cause to be thankful and to rejoice to have so clear a direction in a matter of difficulty.'

How true these reflections are we have seen, and indeed see every day. Nevertheless the correctness of a principle is better seen at a certain distance and as history displays it. Only, what we have to appreciate here is not the relations between the infallible Church and science, for it is not the part of the Church to exercise its infallible power in matters which are purely scientific, and this she knows well. It is in her own province that the question presents itself, and this is simply, ' whether authority has so acted upon the reason of individuals, that they can

have no opinion of their own, and have but an alternative of slavish superstition or secret rebellion of heart ; and I think the whole history of theology puts an absolute negative upon such a supposition.' Where are the thinkers, the men with initiative, met with ? Scarcely ever at Rome herself. We may barely do more than cite S. Leo and S. Gregory, and even then they hardly count, from the strictly theological point of view, by the side of Augustine and Tertullian, of Jerome and Ambrose, to speak only of the Latins. In the Councils, too, it is individual reason which is paramount, not, it is true, in the supreme decision, but in the preliminary inquiries and deliberations. The Middle Ages show us the ecclesiastical power at its apogee, and yet, ' there never was a time when the intellect of the educated class was more active, or rather more restless.' Is it not proverbial that Rome moves slowly ? And perhaps this slowness is especially manifested in doctrinal controversies, in which reason has often outrun authority in a decision given by the latter. No ; Catholic thinkers do not feel themselves always pursued by the suspicious glance of a tyrannical authority ; they have not to fight, ' as the Persian soldiers, under the lash.' There are times, it is true, when the acuteness of a controversy or the gravity of a situation can ask and get from Rome an immediate response ; but these are exceptions to the law which stands out throughout the course of history, and which is this : ' By reason of the very power of the Popes they have commonly been slow and moderate in their use of it.'

The legitimate exercise of reason is favoured by what may be called the ethical factor, that is to say the multitude of different nationalities within the fold of the Catholic Church. Here we have a safeguard against narrowness. Here we have a motive for Rome to attain to the full height and breadth of her mission—high as heaven, broad as the earth. And she has so attained. So that it is true to say, 'that Catholicity is not only one of the notes of the Church, but, according to the divine purposes, one of its securities.' Newman thinks the disappearance, or at any rate the temporary attenuation, of the English and German elements, to have been a most serious misfortune. On the other hand, and it is on this note of heartfelt gratitude that he closes: 'If there is one consideration more than another which should make us English grateful to Pius the Ninth, it is that, by giving us a Church of our own, he has prepared the way for our own habits of mind, our own manner of reasoning, our own tastes, and our own virtues, finding a place and thereby a sanctification, in the Catholic Church.'

II

When in 1873 Gladstone and his ministry were defeated on a bill dealing with higher education in Ireland, that statesman thought there could be discovered behind the opposition of the Irish members of Parliament and their bishops the influence of Rome and, as Newman puts it, 'the new and mischievous force which had been acquired at Rome by

the late acts there.' Accordingly Gladstone thought that he would be discharging a personal and public debt, by issuing a pamphlet on the subject.* Newman calls attention to his 'vehement rhetoric,' and grieves that he should 'speak with such extraordinary severity of our religion and of ourselves. . . . He has committed himself to a representation of ecclesiastical documents which will not hold, and to a view of our position in the country which we have neither deserved nor can be patient under.' There may however be urged in his excuse the uncompromising and overbearing behaviour of certain Catholics, who have forgotten that their attitude might irrititate and exasperate ears and nerves which were extremely susceptible. Newman dedicates his reply to the Duke of Norfolk whose name alone will be an eloquent refutation of Gladstone's principal accusation, since he is of the type of those laymen who are equally good Catholics and good patriots. It is to this reproach, namely 'that Catholics, if they act consistently with their principles, cannot be loyal subjects,' that Newman has it specially at heart to reply, though he does not neglect to do equal justice to many other accusations, in short, to treat the subject as a whole. But in order to get at the essential points of the controversy and to treat them satisfactorily, he finds it necessary to go back a great way and to speak of the ancient Catholic Church.

Gladstone had accused the modern Catholic

* Called *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance : a political expostulation.*

Church of ' repudiating ancient history ; ' and since he claimed to regard the question from the political point of view, this could only mean that the Church of to-day took up as towards the State an antagonistic attitude, which was entirely new. Newman, with an irony which is very natural, recalls the *peaceful* relations during the age of persecution ; and asks, ' When was it that the State did not show jealousy of the Church ? ' Had Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom nothing to suffer ? To speak its mind freely and to suffer for it, this surely is in epitome the Ancient Church. ' The history surely of the Church in all past times, ancient as well as medieval, is the very embodiment of that tradition of Apostolic independence and freedom of speech which in the eyes of man is her great offence now. Nay, that independence, I may say, is even one of her Notes or credentials ; for where shall we find it except in the Catholic Church ? ' In fact this consideration had had a great influence on the Oxford Movement, and many who had remained Anglicans had nevertheless conceived a higher and truer idea of the Church, an idea to the truth of which the era of peace and triumph which succeeded the persecutions furnishes yet another proof. The Church takes its stand as the spiritual power to which all who come to her must submit, be it the State with the Emperor at its head. And it is this which Christian states and princes understood and accepted, this which their legislation confirmed, this to which with sword in hand they came in aid.

The distinctive characteristic of the Roman

Catholic Church lies in her claim that ' of those, prerogatives, privileges, and duties which I have been surveying in the ancient Church, the Pope is historically the heir.' And Newman sets out to treat this point historically, simply because it is the actual ground chosen by his opponent. We may speak of the Pope as being heir by default, since apart from him, no one else claims or exercises the rights and duties which the Ecumenical Hierarchy of the fourth century presents to us. And so we are driven to this dilemma : ' We must either give up the belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it at this day in that communion of which the Pope is the head. . . . To believe in a Church, is to believe in the Pope. . . . The course of ages has fulfilled the prophecy and promise, " Thou art Peter. . . . "' This concentration of power was an immense benefit from the point of view of unity. If each bishop were a Pope, ' it would be the Anglican theory, made real. It would be an ecclesiastical communism.' There was immense benefit too, as is generally admitted by historians, even Protestant ones, in the use made by the Popes of the Middle Ages of their spiritual weapons. And if Gladstone speaks contemptuously of the Church as ' refurbishing her rusty tools,' he ought to remember that it is not so very long since these tools caused other arms to be laid down in the snow of Russia. And if the use of these tools has not always been equitable or fortunate, as Newman quite admits, there is nothing here to warrant Gladstone's passionate invective which he carries

on through sixty-four pages, or his alarm which has no other object save phantoms called up by his imagination alone.

The Pope, whether free or a captive, in high estate, as this world goes, or not, preserves his sovereignity and acts as sovereign. Setting aside for the moment the special note of Infallibility, and confining himself to the consideration of his authority and the obedience which it exacts, Newman shows first that the duty of obedience to a Spiritual Pastor is laid down in the Bible. But to-day the Pope merely insists upon this duty. 'If we give him up, to whom shall we go? . . . Catholics have "done what they could,"—all that anyone could.' Before therefore imputing as a crime the object or manner of their obedience, it were but elementary justice to recognize that they have fulfilled a duty. Having elucidated this point, Newman now has to answer two accusations of Gladstone's: 'Whether the Pope's authority is either a slavery to his subjects, or a menace to the Civil Power.'

He starts out very cleverly by pointing to two characteristics of human law in its relation to individuals; on the one hand we have the ever-growing number of its enactments, its varying changes, what is called its 'glorious uncertainty,' in a word all which makes an institution tyrannical and an interference to liberty; on the other hand there is the immense benefit it confers upon the citizens. Hence, even supposing the Pope to exercise an analogous jurisdiction, we ought in fairness to

examine it under both its aspects. But the analogy on the first count is far from being proved. 'Really at first sight, I have not known where to look for instances of his actual interposition in our private affairs.' These are ruled by moral theology, that is to say, to put it shortly, the commandments of God and of the Church, and the practice of the moral virtues. Yet, in Busembaum's large volume, published in 1645, there is only to be found a list of between fifty and sixty propositions condemned by the Popes, and further, many of these refer to the Sacraments, to ceremonies, discipline, etc. There is nothing here to raise a cry of oppression. The Pope 'leaves us surely far more than that "one fourth of the department of conduct," which Gladstone allows us. . . . I do not see what he takes away at all from our private consciences.'

Gladstone is insistent. The Pope, he will say, refuses to demarcate precise limits to his possible interference, therefore this extends to all our acts. Newman exposes the sophistry by distinguishing between *all* and *any* of our acts, and illustrates his distinction by concrete examples. Is a man the slave of his medical man because of the permission he has given to the latter to intervene whenever he may think it necessary? Public opinion and the public prints keep us under a sort of surveillance which may border on tyranny, 'yet we do not go into fits. . . .' As to the discipline and regimen to which the Pope claims a right, the difficulty vanishes when it is remembered that we are here concerned with the Church herself, with her working, with her

manner of enforcing authority, with the measures she takes to preserve 'the same rites, the same sacraments, the same usages, and the same one Pastor.'

Both the Civil and the Religious power derive from God, with the difference in favour of the latter that it is invariable as the Church herself is invariable. That collisions can take place between them, history is there to tell us, as too that mistakes may be imputed to both of them. If such an occasion arose, what will be the duty of Catholic citizens, who are at the same time the Pope's children and subjects of the King—or of a republic? But first it must be remembered that the State itself has a duty which Newman underlines. 'It should treat the Holy See as an independent sovereign, and if this rule had been observed, the difficulty to Catholics in a country not Catholic, would be most materially lightened.' Many difficulties would thus be amicably settled by an exchange of views, by discussion, by a compromise. However this may be, if a conflict were to arise, the position of Catholics would be analagous to that of nationals of a foreign power in dispute or actually at war with the country of their residence, who would indeed put forward all their efforts to maintain peace; but in case of war, could it be asserted that they would render themselves guilty of treason?

The situation will become critical and the problem embarrassing only if we 'suppose one of these extraordinary cases of direct and open hostility between the two powers actually to occur;' and the

Catholic citizens to find themselves under the necessity of taking part on one side or the other. What is then to be done? In theory the answer is very simple. Take the side which is in the right. But which is this? That will depend. In some cases there is no manner of doubt. 'I should say distinctly that did the State tell me in a question of worship to do what the Pope told me not to do, I should obey the Pope.' Newman does not consider it too optimistic to believe that a like case is chimerical, yet much more chimerical surely is the case in which obedience should be given, not to the Pope, but to the Civil Power; and so he is reduced to imagining instances, but then, as Newman says, 'since it cannot possibly happen in fact, there is no harm in just saying what I should (hypothetically) do, if it did happen.' In fact 'I answer that it is my *rule*, both to obey the one and to obey the other, but that there is no rule in this world without exceptions, and if either the Pope or the Queen demanded of me "Absolute Obedience," he or she would be transgressing the laws of human society. I give an absolute obedience to neither. Further, if ever this double allegiance pulled me in contrary ways, which in this age of the world I think it never will, then I should decide according to the particular case, which is beyond all rule, and must be decided on its own merits. I should look to see what theologians could do for me, what the Bishops and clergy around me, what my confessor; what friends whom I revered: and if, after all, I could not take their view of the matter, then I must rule myself by my

own judgment and my own conscience. But all this is hypothetical and unreal.' It is well worth noticing the difference between the use Protestants make of private judgment, our ordinary guide, as they say, in matters of religion, and the use which Newman assigns to it here, reserving its exercise to 'very extraordinary and rare, nay, impossible circumstances.'

'It seems, then, that there are extreme cases in which Conscience may come into collision with the word of a Pope, and is to be followed in spite of that word.' What becomes then of the authority of the Pope? Or again, to put the objection in another way and with greater force: Does not the Authority of the Pope rise on the ruins of conscience? Newman begins, in one of the most beautiful passages he ever wrote, by setting out the true traditional notion of conscience, that reflexion of the divine law in the mind of man, 'the aboriginal Vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas, and, even though the eternal priesthood throughout the Church could cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain and would have a sway.' But on this notion philosophers have waged war. They have one after the other stripped conscience of its elements, emptied it of God, so that to-day 'when men advocate the rights of conscience they in no sense mean the rights of the Creator, nor the duty to Him, in thought and deed, of the creature; but the right of thinking, speaking,

writing, and acting, according to their judgment and their humour, without any thought of God at all.' It seems that ' with a large portion of the public, it is the very right and freedom of conscience to dispense with conscience, to ignore a Lawgiver and Judge, to be independent of unseen obligations.' Conscience has in fact become ' the right of self-will.'

This distinction is fundamental. It explains how it is that the Popes can and ought to be both for and against conscience and the liberty of the conscience. ' Did the Pope speak against Conscience in the true sense of the word, he would commit a suicidal act. . . . On the law of conscience and its sacredness are founded both his authority in theory and his power in fact.' The Revelation of which the Pope is the guardian is founded on the moral law, which it fortifies, develops, and interprets, but which it can neither set on one side nor contradict. Of this moral law conscience is the inner and all-powerful voice. But it is of sovereign importance to notice that conscience works solely in the practical field ; it has no place in the realm of speculative truth, and hence can never come into collision with the Church's Infallibility, which is exercised in this realm alone. A collision can only take place between conscience and the authority of the Pope ; and should such a grave contingency arise we must be very careful to make sure what conscience is engaged. First, it must be true conscience, ' it must be something more than that miserable counterfeit which now goes by that name.' Next, it must be a conscience which does not give its

decision lightly, but only after 'serious thought, prayer, and all available means of arriving at a right judgment on the matter in question.' Lastly, we must remember that 'obedience to the Pope is what is called "in possession;" that is, the *onus probandi* of establishing a case against him lies, as in all cases of exception, on the side of conscience.' It is also the part of loyalty and greatness of spirit to be ready to assume *a priori* that the Pope is in the right. 'If this necessary rule were observed, collisions between the Pope's authority and the authority of conscience would be very rare.' This primacy of conscience is unanimously brought out in the teaching of the theologians, of whom Newman cites a number, who lay it down that it is our duty to obey our conscience at all hazards.

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It is quite another matter if we are speaking of false conscience. And this 'leads us to the Encyclical, which is one of the special objects of Mr. Gladstone's attack; and to do justice to it, I must, as in other sections, begin from an earlier date than 1844.' Newman goes back to the very beginning of the Anglican Establishment to show that 'the King took the place of the Pope, but the Pope's principles kept possession,' in particular in the theory that there is one true religion, and in the restrictive measures which flow from that theory. 'All this was called Toryism, and men gloried in the name; now it is called Popery and reviled.' Unity of conscience in the State, Christianity as the one religion of the land, these went, had to go, 'melted

away, like snow at spring-tide,' before the awakening of thought and opinion. 'Their multiform views on sacred subjects necessarily affected and found expression in the governing order.' Thence followed the great revolution in the state of the law which Newman wished to notice in order 'to suggest that Englishmen, who within fifty years kept up the Pope's system, are not exactly the parties to throw stones at the Pope for keeping it up still.'

And there is more. The Pope has not said on the subject of conscience what Gladstone makes him say, and in this 'his unfairness is wonderful.' To listen to him one would suppose that the Pope had condemned all liberties *in toto*, and that English Law, on the contrary, allowed these liberties *in toto*. 'But the Pope has done no such thing. The real question is, in what respect, in what measure, has he spoken against liberty: the grant of liberty admits of degrees.' A liberty to which no bounds are set is not even conceivable, for 'the very idea of political society is based upon the principle that each member of it gives up a portion of his natural liberty for advantages which are greater than that liberty,' or, put in other words, 'is a relinquishment, to a certain point, of the liberty of its members individually, for the sake of a common security.' This principle appears in England. Apart from special restrictions put on the liberties of Catholics, there are restrictions in common law which limit the liberty of public speech, of the press, of public worship; but to limit is not to suppress. Well, the Pope has done nothing different from this. He has

simply condemned the unjust claim to ' a universal liberty to all men to say out whatever doctrines they may hold by preaching, or by the press, uncurbed by church or civil power. . . . What if a man's conscience embraces the duty of regicide ? or infanticide ? or free love ? ' The Pope has called this doctrine *deliramentum ;* and assuredly the word is not too strong.

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The Syllabus could not fail to be included in Gladstone's over-laden charge against the Pope ; and so Newman has to refer to it. ' The Syllabus is a collection of such erroneous prepositions as Pius IX has noted during his Pontificate ; there are eighty of them.' Since it is published by order of the Pope it is to be received with profound submission. But intrinsically, and viewed in itself, it is an anonymous digest. If the Pope should make this digest his own, should sign it, and pronounce definitely against the propositions contained in it, Newman professes that he should bow to it, ' because I believe him appointed by his Divine Master to determine in the detail of faith and moral what is true and what is false.' But did the Pope do this ? One cannot argue from the fact that the Syllabus was sent out to the Bishops at the same time as the Encyclical, for this was a pure coincidence. It is a *résumé*, an index, designed to remind them of the principal pronouncements of Pius IX, with references to the Consistorial Allocutions, Encyclicals, et cetera, from which they are taken, and to which one must turn to get their true meaning, and exact

scope. Newman gives several examples, and adds that the sensation caused by the Syllabus may be explained on many grounds : firstly, on the score of the number and variety of the propositions, and their systematic arrangement, which, taken apart from their context, form a whole which might give the impression of being ' one great scheme of aggression.' Next, owing to the abstract and universal character of the propositions, the true interpretation of which must always be difficult, especially for those who are unfamiliar with theological science and terminology, and is from this very fact not made any the easier ; and now, ' considering that the Syllabus . . . got bodily into English newspapers even before it was received at many an episcopal residence, we shall not be surprised at the commotion which accompanied its publication.' Newman is aware that the favourable construction he puts on the Syllabus is not shared by everybody, but he feels bound to maintain it. ' When,' he says, ' I speak of minimizing, I am not turning the profession of it into a dogma ; men, if they will, may maximize for me, provided they too keep from dogmatizing. This is my position all through these discussions, and must be kept in mind by any fair reasoner.' *

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In speaking of the Vatican Council Newman finds himself obliged to speak of himself, owing to the ' most unfounded and erroneous assertions ' which had been circulated about him. True, he feared the form the definition might take, and he

* Postscript, Sect. 7, p. 365.

detested what he calls ' the violence and cruelty of journals and other publications, which . . . employed themselves in rash language (though, of course, they did not mean it so), in unsettling the weak in faith, throwing back inquirers, and shocking the Protestant mind. . . . It was this most keen feeling, which made me say, as I did continually, " I will not believe that the Pope's Infallibility will be defined, till defined it is." ' And so it came to pass. As soon as Newman saw the definition he was pleased with it. ' I have no difficulty in admitting it,' he wrote. But until he could get fuller information there remained the question : ' Does it come to me with the authority of an Ecumenical Council ? ' We can quite understand that this doubt arose from the fact that a minority of the Council was opposed to it. But even did it not so come, Newman was of opinion, as he wrote to a friend who was troubled in the matter, ' that a Council's definition would have a virtual claim on our reception, even though it were not passed *conciliariter*, but in some indirect way ; the great object of a Council being in some way or other to declare the judgment of the Church.' Whatever may be said for this provisional solution, proposed before ' the minority had melted away,' and its unanimous acceptance by the faithful had supplied an argument for it which if not necessary was at least ' handy, obvious, and serviceable,'* the definition had been made and in itself had met all objections.

* Postscript, Sect. 8, p. 372.

The principal one of these is contained in the general accusation of ' repudiation of ancient history,' which was formulated by Gladstone, who seems, however, in some measure to admit his incompetence to deal with the subject of Infallibility, so far as ' it belongs to the theological domain ; ' which does not prevent him, however, from speaking, on the next page, ' of the deadly blows of 1854 and 1870 at the old, historic, scientific, and moderate school.' History is a beautiful thing, especially the history of the Church, sacred and divine creation that she is, despite what man has added of his own to her. ' But it is not everyone that can read its pages rightly ; and certainly I cannot follow Mr. Gladstone's reading of it.' The fundamental reason lies ' in the fact that he is a Protestant and we are Catholics . . . that we have views on the relation of history to dogma different from those which Protestants maintain.' But it is not only with Gladstone that he has to reckon, but, and still more, with others, authors of ' commanding authority from their learning and their honesty . . . their present whereabout, wherever it is, is to me a thought full of melancholy. It is a tragical event, both for them and for us, that they have left us.' This does not prevent Newman from declaring them to be utterly wrong. ' I agree as little in their view of history as in their acts . . . and I am denying not their report of the facts, but their use of the facts they report, and that, because of that special standpoint from which they view the relations existing between the records of history

and the enunciations of Popes and Councils. They seem to me to expect from history more than history can furnish, and to have too little confidence in the Divine Promise and Providence as guiding and determining those enunciations.' If Scripture does not contain the whole of Revelation, why should History do so? And private judgment is no more admissable when applied to the latter than it is to the former. 'For myself, I would simply confess that no doctrine of the Church can be rigorously proved by historical evidence; but at the same time that no doctrine can be simply disproved by it. Historical evidence reaches a certain way, more or less, towards a proof of the Catholic doctrines . . . sometimes there is an apparent leaning of the evidence to a contrary conclusion. . . . In all cases there is a margin left for the exercise of faith in the word of the Church. He who believes the dogmas of the Church only because he has reasoned them out of history, is scarcely a Catholic.' This view of history applies equally to reason, which, too, is never the immediate motive of the assent by faith, always given to whatever proceeds from that high *Magisterium*, which is the sole legitimate exponent of Revelation. It applies lastly to those other truths, 'with which Ratiocination has more to do than History, which are sometimes called developments of Christian doctrine,' profound truths, formulated from time to time by theologians, and even on occasion defined by the Church as direct objects of faith. Clearly the logical connexion is not in itself sufficient, but, 'on the assumption of

the Infallibility of the Church (which will overcome every objection except a contradiction in thought), there is nothing greatly to try the reason in such difficulties as occur in reconciling those evolved doctrines with the teaching of the ancient Fathers.' It is thus that we must envisage the definitions of 1854 and 1870. The utmost that can legitimately be said against them by an opponent comes down to this, ' that antecedently to the event, it might appear that there were no sufficient historical grounds in behalf of either of them . . . for the purpose of converting a doctrine long existing in the Church into a dogma, and making it a portion of the Catholic Creed. This adverse anticipation was proved to be a mistake by the fact of the definition being made.' As for the dogma of Infallibility, the time had really come for the three famous texts in Scripture relating to S. Peter, which the Bull *Pastor aeternus* quoted, to open out their ultimate meaning with a light which had taken centuries to arrive at its noon-tide.

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The doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is then now *de fide*. But, ' so difficult a virtue is faith . . . that the Church has ever shown the utmost care to contract, as far as possible, the range of truths and the sense of propositions, of which she demands this absolute reception.' It follows, therefore, that to *minimize* does not necessarily imply the vexatious trend of thought which some would associate with the word ; for, properly understood, it means simply ' a moderation of doctrine, dictated

by charity, which is not inconsistent with soundness in the faith.' Accordingly Newman applies himself duly and precisely to set out the doctrine of Infallibility from the definition as promulgated by the Council.

The Pope possesses the same Infallibility as does the Church, and the Infallibility of the Church springs from its essence as a divine society, instituted by Christ to teach all nations, to be the prop and mainstay of the truth, with God's help, to the consummation of the world. Here we have the broad lines of the picture. The Pope, therefore, is only infallible when he fulfils a perfectly defined rôle, expressed by the words *ex cathedra*, that is to say when he teaches as a Universal Doctor, in the name and with the authority of the Apostles, on some point of faith or morals, with the purpose of binding every member of the Church to accept and believe his decision. Each one of these conditions must be strictly fulfilled, and taken together they singularly limit the prerogative. Above all it does not apply to the Pope as a theologian in his private capacity, but as a Universal Teacher. And here we must be careful to observe the manner in which he is infallible, which is not after that of inspiration, but by way of *assistentia*, that is to say, of ' an external guardianship, keeping him off from error, as a man's good angel, without at all enabling him to walk, might, on a night journey, keep him from pitfalls in his way.' The process of definition is, therefore, human and in itself fallible, but Providence keeps watch, and

error is not allowed to enter into the definition, or into the dogma, or into the direct answer of the Pope to a given question. This and this alone constitutes the object on which infallibility works. And more than this, that object cannot be new; it must be referable to the Apostolic depositum, must be contained in Scripture or in Tradition. And this necessary reference, though the Pope himself is judge whether the proposition is referable or not, is nevertheless a limitation, even though, practically, that proposition should derive from the moral law and concern matters necessary to salvation.

The principle of *minimizing*, properly understood seems, therefore, to be one of the elements 'necessary for a wise and cautious theology,' in appreciating both the definition of truths and the condemnation of error. 'In each case the Church, as guided by her Divine Master, has made provision for weighing as lightly as possible on the faith and conscience of her children.' Indeed, except such as relate to persons, to God, Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, and the like, the definitions are formulated in general terms and admit of exceptions,—these exceptions being determined either by Authority itself or by the acuteness and vigilance of theologians. Newman quotes some famous examples: Out of the Church is no salvation; the doctrine of absolute predestination; the decrees against usury. Thus, all things considered, a call to an act of faith is relatively rare. It is none the less true that it is 'a more scriptural, Christian,

dutiful, happy frame of mind, to be easy, than to be difficult of belief ; ' than to have that ' grudging faith in the word of the Church, which determines to hold nothing but what it is, as if by demonstration, compelled to believe. To be a true Catholic a man must have a generous loyalty towards ecclestiastical authority, and accept what is taught him with what is called the *pietas fidei*, and only such a tone of mind has a claim, and it certainly has a claim, to be met and to be handled with a wise and gentle *minimism*.'

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Newman has fulfilled what he calls 'a task very painful to me and ungracious.' We have seen that there was nothing with which Gladstone, the politician, claiming to speak as one, could reproach the Vatican Council ; in any case, he has not been able to prove a single one of the charges which he thought to be able to bring home to it. The Pope ' has for centuries upon centuries had and used that authority, which the Definition now declares ever to have belonged to him.' And those who spread abroad the assertion that the Church has been changed into an aggressive Papal despotism, have perhaps interested motives in so doing ; and are they not rather politicians than Churchmen ? Newman recognizes that others than he have replied to Gladstone and that their answer differs from his ; but he declares that the difference is not deep-seated, nor is it one which touches on questions of faith ; which only proves how doubly wrong Protestants are to taunt Catholics with their differences,

which are but superficial, and with a state of mental slavery to which these very differences give the lie. Gladstone may profit by this reflection, as may, too, certain Catholics, who ' use their private judgment, in the discussion of religious questions, not simply *abundare in suo sensu*, but for the purpose of anathematizing the private judgment of others.'

A reply of Gladstone's* caused Newman later to add a postscript to his letter in which he gives precision to, or reinforces, certain passages, takes cognizance of several concessions, corrects some false interpretations, and resolves a small number of new difficulties ; but these were only the few isolated shots which follow the battle. Newman had conquered all along the line, and could issue to his opponent a challenge, which indeed hits at many others : ' If Mr. Gladstone is merely haranguing as an Orator, I do not for an instant quarrel with him or attempt to encounter him ; but if he is a Controversialist, we have a right to look for arguments, not mere assertions.'

* *Vaticanism, an Answer to Replies and Reproofs.*

THE END

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